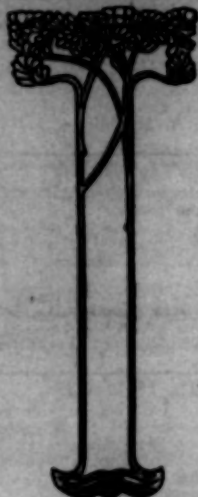


The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 7
No. 1



WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE
SALOON

THE FUTILITY OF THE WOMAN'S
PEACE PARTY

PATRIOTISM AND PROPAGANDA

THE REJECTION OF RADICALISM

"HOW HAS IT WORKED?"

THE THEORY OF PARADISE PALACE

AN \$8,000,000 FALSEHOOD

THE NEW SUFFRAGE WAR CRY

A NEW POLITICAL NUISANCE

REPORTS OF ANTI-SUFFRAGE
WORK

MAY
1915



Subscription, \$1.00 a Year



10 cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1912, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., Under the Act of March 3, 1879

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE SALOON

By MISS ELIZA D. ARMSTRONG

ANOTHER two suffrage arguments have gone to the wall in the last two weeks, for about the thousandth time, which, of course, will not keep the suffrage speakers and writers from reiterating them throughout the campaign. The "dry" aid that women voters have been billed in advance to give—whenever the "cause" desires to court the temperance people—had a chance to materialize in Illinois last month. Three counties with nearly a hundred saloons were voted dry, eleven townships being affected. All were small towns and in only one, Pawnee, did the women's vote effect a dry election. At the same time two hundred and fifty saloons in eighteen more populous townships remained "wet," among them Kankakee, Danville and Murphysboro. In Kankakee the women gave a majority of 500 votes for the "wets."

Only the day before, however, Michigan, a male suffrage State, and one of the strongest anti-suffrage States in the country, made eight counties dry, closing the saloons in four of its most profitable summer resorts on the Lake, where thousands of tourists stop. Also, Wisconsin, another male suffrage State where the Suffragists rashly accused the "liquor interests" of contributing to their overwhelming defeat in 1912, has just voted twenty-eight towns dry, only failing in seven towns, four of them small villages. Then Nebraska, another State that has recently defeated suffrage—and where the "liquor interest" bugaboo was played for all it is worth by the Suffragists, gets nineteen out of twenty-two towns into the dry column by the votes of men only, on the same day that the women of Illinois help to keep eighteen towns wet!

The suffrage speaker who has the nerve to bring up the liquor issue in relation to votes for women in the face of these figures, and the many "wet" women majorities that have been given in the last few years in California and other suffrage States, is certainly deaf to the logic of facts, and utterly dependent on her imagination for her data.

Eleven male suffrage States went "dry" before any State was brought to the prohibition ranks by the votes of women. Four suffrage States at the last election voted dry—but the Billy Sunday sermons to "men only" is claimed to have had the honors in Colorado, which overwhelmingly defeated prohibition, after twenty years of woman suffrage in 1912, but passed it last November.

As the women's votes are not counted separately, save in Illinois, the Suffragists can "get away with" statements to the effect that "votes for women" was a big factor in making Washington, Oregon, Arizona and Colorado dry—but where we really get a count on the women we find that there is little ground for this statement. With seventeen hundred women out of two hundred and forty-three thousand voting "dry" in Chicago on April 6th—in a city where the saloons run "wide open," many of them with "lady bartenders," all day Sunday; and male suffrage Nebraska, Michigan and Wisconsin, although smaller States, all beating Illinois in going "dry," where can we connect the temperance question with the cause of feminism? As feminism is wholly a movement for more so-called "freedom" for women, among which personal indulgence in male vices seems to be a distinguishing desire, we see how useless it is to expect more temperance on the liquor issue by forcing women to become more intemperate and reckless in their behavior otherwise. The women voters are not improving or purifying politics anywhere; instead, they are becoming truly "more like the men," in roughness, intolerance, want of courtesy and lower moral standards. The chief appeal of women to men is based on woman's superior goodness, her more delicate refinement, her different and more spiritual sympathies—all of which are leveled to an "equality" with the conduct of the roughest male politicians under feminism.

This is not mere assertion. No one can read the recent reports of the Chicago election, for instance, with the largest proportion of women ever polled, without becoming convinced that the women's vote was a mere duplicate of the men's, as far as political effect went, but that the women's part in the pre-election clashes and riots, especially in breaking up the most important meetings held by both parties, was a disgrace to the sex. But, say the persons who have never seen woman suffrage in action, only a few women do these things. No large percentage of the feminine electorate yelled and hissed and shrieked down other women and even both of the mayoralty candidates—only a few. Yes, it is entirely true there were not so many. Neither do a large percentage of the women voters stand on street corners and talk to every Tom, Dick and Harry that passes, and beg him to support "their candidate," but we should also remember that likewise "only a few of those traditions of gentlemanly courtesy to women that were accorded our grandmothers yet remain—and that every time a man sees a woman brawling or talking to strangers on the streets, or misbehaving in a political meeting, that man's estimation of the entire sex is lowered, and his courtesy towards every woman he meets somewhat affected. Only a few women can be procured to stand on soap boxes and harangue in the streets, only a few women can be gotten to march in parades, only a few silly girls will allow unknown politicians to take them around on election day in automobiles—but many persons see these acts, and the whole moral tone of society and the status of women is lowered. When a woman takes her baby into the polling place near Hinky Dink's famous saloon, and deposits it on the lap of one burly politician while another familiarly pats her on the back and attempts to influence her vote—does the woman's presence purify the atmosphere of politics or does the woman herself lose something not so easily defined in words, but that her husband would feel and resent?

Election day in woman suffrage States is the only day when the social restrictions between the sexes are thrown down—the only day the man is licensed to talk to any woman he meets on the streets, the only day when free flirting and promiscuous propinquity between men and women personally unknown to each other is tolerated by society. Why, on that one day should the courtesy that protects womanhood—and manhood—be neglected? Why, on that one day when no man needs an introduction to speak to any girl he cares to, should the social customs that have resulted from sixty centuries of civilization be declared off in favor of such a useless and dangerous bauble as "political equality?" Why should women grant unknown men on that day a freedom of association they would permit on no other day, merely to avail themselves of the freedom to exercise the franchise? Why should there be such a day when feminism triumphs over feminine and womanly ideals?

In view of the above, the following news despatch from the Chicago *News* should cause no surprise:

"RENO, Nev., May 5.—Reduction of saloon licenses from 80 to 40 in Reno was defeated by a 3 to 1 vote at the municipal election yesterday. The saloon question was submitted to the voters as an initiative ordinance and failed to carry a single ward. The ticket of the business men, headed by Frank J. Byington, candidate for mayor, was elected without an exception.

"The vote cast was the largest in the history of Reno, women for the first time exercising their right of franchise. The vote of the women showed a slight majority in opposition to the reform movement, although several civic bodies had indorsed the limitation of saloons and the candidates making up a citizens' league ticket."

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Vol. VII May, 1915 No. 1

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

We Anti-Suffragists are "The Home, Heaven and Mother Party." Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, says so. If you like Home, Heaven and Mother, and are going our way, join us!

NO POWER WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY

THAT voting women cannot expect to retain their privileges or be immune from the responsibilities and duties of male voters is increasingly evident. We read in the San Francisco (Cal.) *Chronicle* of April 17, 1915:

"The Senate has passed the Butler bill making women eligible to service on juries. An amendment providing that they may be relieved from duty at their own request was defeated by a vote of 30 to 7.

"Should the bill finally become a law in a form which places upon women the same obligation to serve on juries that is endured by men there is likely to be a disturbance.

"If the law makes no distinction between men and women in respect to jury duty it would be grossly improper for the judges who make up the jury lists to do so.

"And, if their names are on the lists, they will go into the box with the others, and any woman at any time may be haled into court and compelled to forsake either her children and cooking or her society functions as the case may be, to dance attendance for weeks as a trial juror.

"For it would be unjust for a judge to excuse a woman for any cause which would not be an excuse for a man.

"The bill is an exemplification of human folly. We know no reason why a woman would not make as good a juror as a man, and possibly a better. The service, however, is often extremely onerous, and always disliked and avoided by men, except the unemployed and professionals, whom neither courts nor litigants desire.

"It will be far more annoying to women and in practice would create no end of embarrassments. The service of women in this capacity is unnecessary and should not be required of them.

"Suffrage was forced on women by a small minority of their sex who induced a majority of the men to vote that way.

"The number of women who register is limited, and the number who vote is smaller still—which proves that women as a sex do not wish to be bothered with voting.

"But jury service is not like voting. An elector may register or not, and vote or not, as he or she pleases. But a summons to serve on a jury has to be obeyed.

"Should this bill become a law, and be enforced, as it should be, if it is a law, it is not impossible that the sex may rebel and register and vote for the express purpose of getting rid of both jury duty and voting duty."

What effect compulsory jury duty by women would have upon the ends of justice is indicated by the following quotation from the San Francisco *Argonaut*:

"Miss Gail Laughlin believes that the ends of justice would be better secured if women were allowed a place upon juries, and especially in cases involving feminine guilt. This is quite likely to be true, but perhaps not in the way contemplated by Miss Laughlin. The practical impossibility of convicting a woman of a serious crime is one of the scandals of our practice and it appears to be growing worse, and this sinister immunity is due to the fact that juries are composed wholly of men. The woman criminal will not thank Miss Laughlin for her suggestion nor, we may well believe, will the average woman citizen, who will thus be compelled to perform a duty that is always irksome and that is often tragic."

What effect jury duty for women will have upon the children is considered by Mrs. Francis M. Scott in the New York *Globe* of April 28th:

"Political equality implies a responsibility that ought not to be evaded. Public differs from private responsibility. The latter can be laid aside at any moment. Not so with public affairs. That is the trouble with the teacher-mother. She should not remain at home because her baby has a fever. Her private cares must be sacrificed to her public affairs, else she is on a different basis than is the man who would perform those duties.

"And take jury duty for mothers which brings in the child, and to me the child stands pre-eminent in all this discussion. A man is called to serve on a jury. He goes away confident that the children are in the care of one who holds their interest highest. If both are called the child may have an attendant, but it won't have its mother and it won't be as well off.

"Every trained attendant is not perfect. If only the wife is called to jury duty—well it is the very exceptional man who is a good mother."

The jury duty bill did not pass both houses of the Legislature in California. Apparently the women are not ready to take up this responsibility.

MRS. EDWARD BEECHER FINCK greatly amused and entertained an audience recently by reciting extracts from "Aristophanes' Parliament of Women," written over 400 years B. C., as exact parallels to current arguments used by the Suffragists. Then she grew serious, and suggested thoughts from her experience as a physician's wife that raise natural barriers against votes for women.

"If we want votes, we must take full political responsibilities with it," Mrs. Finck said. "Women will want political offices, too. Now an elected official takes his place six, seven or eight months after the election. Is there any married woman who can be sure that she will be in a position physically, half a year from now, to devote all her time to the State's service? Any man can give up his business and undertake the service of his country either here or abroad, knowing that his home is safe, that his wife will care for it. What would happen if we reversed this? Woman is absolutely the home builder, beyond all sentimental considerations altogether. If she neglects the home what will happen to it? As the home is, so is the city, the State and the Nation, and men cannot take women's places in the home."

THE Boston *Herald* says editorially: "Not only Massachusetts, but the United States is bereft by the death of Curtis Guild. One of the most versatile men of his time with a genius of friendship . . . trained from his youth to accumulate and understand important information and to impart it in accurate and agreeable speech, holding himself ever ready to respond to the demands of his fellow-citizens of all parties and classes. There are few men of his years who have accomplished so much more, whose death could be more deeply mourned. . . . As governor he kept the general welfare of the whole people constantly in view and took them into his confidence. No man of his time has loved his native State more loyally." Those who have heard Mr. Guild in his clear and accurate statement of facts on the woman suffrage question will realize that anti-suffrage has lost a wise and valued friend.

THE PATH TO PEACE

BY FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ

(In the *Cincinnati Enquirer*)

You may plead for peace to the end of time when the sea gives up its dead,
But the sound of battle will never cease and ever will blood be shed,
And ever will man raise hand to man as long as the stars remain,
While lust of power and greed abide the nations will count their slain.
You may preach of laws that the world shall make with the aid of its womankind;
Do you fancy the soldiers will sheathe their swords for a mortal appeal to mind?
While choked in the ashes that mind has wrought, eyes bent to the reddened sod,
Do you think they will pause for a human law which carries no hint of God?

* * * * *

When the world shall teach that the sovereign power rests not in the courts of State,
That the strongest dominion on earth is love and its puniest foe is hate;
When the people throughout the earth shall know 'tis the spirit that gives the word
And that mortal law is a futile force till the depth of the soul is stirred,
When the Master Builder reshapes His world with the aid of its humankind,
When the law of the new-born soul stands forth, supreme to the law of mind,
Then the surge of passion and greed shall rest becalmed in the hearts of men,
Then nations shall clasp close hands in peace—forever—and only then.

THE FUTILITY OF THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY

THE recent convention of The Women's Peace Party has created widespread comment, much of it scornful, some of it hopeful, but little of it enthusiastically approving.

We reprint the following despatch from the *N. Y. Times* of April 29:

BOSTON, April 28.—Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, sister of President Lowell of Harvard and prominent in many important municipal and economic movements, looks with disfavor on the woman's peace movement as being ill-considered and mischievous. In an article in *The Boston Herald* she says:

"The Women's Peace Party is one of the most dangerous movements which has threatened our emotional people for a long time. It was founded by an ex-militant, a woman who had been several times convicted of criminal acts which were far from peaceful. This woman, to whom notoriety was the breath of her nostrils, got the ear of several emotional women whose hearts are so large that many people have mistaken them for heads. They were told that, though they did not bear arms, they bore the armies, and similar catch phrases. These good women, of whom the most prominent are largely childless, and many of whom are spinsters against whom no breadth of scandal has ever been raised, were lined up together and photographed as 'mothers of men,' and no one saw the absurdity of it all.

"War is a disaster truly, but it is not the worst that may befall a people. It is a result, not a cause—like fever in the human body which is not so much a symptom of illness as a sign of the effort of the body to overcome its invaders. If we would prevent war we must make our country and our world wholesome within, and having done that we must also guard our portals.

"Women have not done their share in making life wholesome, in ways too many to enumerate here they have failed of doing their part. The world needs sane, wholesome, holy living to-day more than it probably has ever needed it before, but in seeing this and in trying to compass it, let us not overlook Mahomet's counsel to his faithful follower who announced that on the coming night he was not going to tie his camel, but was going to commit him unto the Lord. Mahomet's reply to him was, 'Friend, first tie thy camel and then commit him unto the Lord.'"

Following the publication of this letter, the *New York Evening Sun* said editorially, under the heading "Women's Protest":

The International Congress of Women gathered at The Hague to protest against war is an emotional demonstration whose weight can only be determined in the future. Its effect cannot be appreciable at present.

Abhorrence of arbitrary power and burning indignation at the deliberate slaughter of human beings are sentiments which the whole world—except the upholders of arbitrary power at all costs—shares with them. Yet there is nothing reasonable in their attitude at the moment. The worst passions of hostile nations are now driving through Europe with irresistible force, urged on by the momentum of decades and centuries of tradition. And tradition is far stronger than any written law.

When the fury of war shall have spent itself and reason slowly regains possession of minds now inflamed to madness, the voice of the child-bearers, the complementary half of outraged humanity, will have its hearing. But when the women throw themselves in front of the onrush of war the chariot is bound to roll over them, and they risk their moral lives, their standing as intelligent creatures, for nothing but their overwhelming desire to cry out.

That this is not an isolated instance of the strong feeling which the press has upon this question is indicated by the following editorial from the *Boston Transcript*, April 28:

Women Suffragists from the United States and other countries have assembled at The Hague apparently for the two-fold purpose of promoting "votes for women" and protesting against the European war. To the lasting honor of the women of France and the women of Belgium they refused to participate in such a gathering. The presence of the invader on French and Belgium soil makes peace at the present time a hideous nightmare to those two peoples. The men of those two countries are fighting, side by side, to save their national life and they count the lives lost in such a struggle as a splendid sacrifice. Therefore to the French and the Belgians this international conference of women must appear far from friendly to the cause of the Allies.

Of all the delegations at The Hague that from the United States has least reason to be there. The American delegates

are in the uncomfortable and embarrassing position of endeavoring to force upon other countries equal suffrage before they have gained from their own Government the right to vote. They are presuming to protest against the war in Europe without any regard to its cause when their own country has gone to war many times during the last hundred years and to-day is in a state bordering on war with Mexico and within its own boundaries is tolerating, in Colorado, a condition that is in some respects an atrocity of peace far worse than many of the hardships of war.

When men or women are very much in earnest as these good women are, it is hard to reason with them and make them see the injustice they do themselves by attempting such a mission. We believe, however, that the common-sense view of the world over will be that the latest conference at The Hague offers an impressive argument against placing upon some women at the present time the responsibility of the ballot. Nothing could have more severely damaged the cause of equal suffrage in Massachusetts than its apparent merging with the world peace propaganda. In the minds of many voters, when they go to the polls next November to cast their ballot upon the amendment to the Constitution enfranchising women, will arise the memory of "The Hague Conference" and the reminder will not aid the cause of suffrage.

Meantime their American friends will hope for our gratuitous world pacificators that they will return to us in due time none the worse for their journey and possibly somewhat wiser regarding the meaning of the present war and the place of women in the world. There are at home to-day abundant opportunities for the women of America to serve their country by devoting their lives to many good works of practical idealism, although these tasks are less conspicuous than settling a world war and ordering by parliamentary resolution the comings and goings of nations.

The following letter from *The Providence Journal* is equally timely:

To the Editor:

As my name has been mentioned in connection with the organization committee of the Woman's Peace Party of Rhode Island, may I say that I am not in sympathy with the movement, and have been obliged to decline the honor of serving on that committee.

As an Anti-Suffragist, I cannot work with a party openly committed to suffrage propaganda, but beyond that I refuse to believe that the sentiments expressed in the preamble of the constitution of the party, which purport to be held by "the mother half of humanity," do express the feelings of the mothers of my country. I have faith in the women of America, and know they have faith in the men of America. I believe they are willing to trust the decision of difficult and complex national and international questions to those who must ultimately be relied on to carry out national policies. I believe that the influence of the mothers of America will always be exerted on the side of national honor and integrity, and that they themselves will meet situations demanding courage, patriotism and self-sacrifice as nobly as those who have gone before.

MARY P. B. HAZARD,

President Rhode Island Association Opposed to

Woman Suffrage.

Peace Dale, R. I.

The following letter to the editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, signed by Annie Nathan Myer, is an opinion upon the Peace disguise which masks this new suffrage propaganda.

"May I protest through your columns at the political trick which the Woman Suffrage Party has played upon all lovers of Peace? Here is a great movement cheapened and reduced in its significance and size by the insertion in the platform of the plank (No. 6), 'The further humanizing of governments by the extension of the franchise to women.' What moral right has a group of Suffragists to abrogate to itself the guidance of a movement which has no essential relation to Suffragism? To insist that we cannot have peace unless woman's hand is at the helm is to indulge in that 'spread-hen-ism' which I have derided more than once; it is also to bring an unfortunate controversy into a movement which should be utterly clear of such a dis-

cordant note. The cleverness is apparent, of course—it is the hope of the suffrage leaders to include large numbers of women who do not approve of giving women the ballot, but who, nevertheless, are afraid to stand aside for the great peace movement—or perhaps honestly feel that the larger issue swallows up the lesser and so overlook the obnoxious sixth plank.

"Obviously, later on—it is being done already—the Suffragists will point to the large numbers of Suffragists taking an active part in peace propaganda, and will do their best to try to show the Anti-Suffragist as a believer in war, or at best one who futilely refuses to lift her hand against it.

"Of course, if one stops to think about it—only so few *do* think—it's easy to know who really would be more apt to be against war: the home-loving, child-bearing, quiet woman who is not ashamed to say her whole life is caught up in the interests of husband and children, or the woman who, even if not actually a militant, has never condemned them, and pays money to support that outrageous sex war! Who will suffer most from the effects of war? She who is wrapped up in son and husband fighting in the trenches, or she who believes the expression of her own ego the one important matter on earth—whose chief interest in the effect of war will be an economic one?

"I hope that every Detroit woman, unless she is ready now and at once to have women enter politics, will refuse to countenance as neat a political trick as was ever perpetrated by a big steam-rolling political machine!

"If men—mere men—had been guilty of mixing up the issues—of saddling a great, a noble cause with the personal ambitions of a political party, oh, what a cry would have arisen from the saintly, outraged women who only crave a voice in the government to put a stop to all such chicanery."

We have seen where the Anti-Suffragists and the press stand upon the question of woman and peace. Let us see whether feminist views on the war as related to feminism are as united. Investigation reveals much difference of opinion. Christabel Pankhurst believes that after the war, "Men cannot refuse the vote to women"—if any men are left for the militants to harry. But Professor Muret, who is the most eminent Swiss advocate of suffrage, thinks the war is scarcely favorable to the movement, "because though men appreciate the admirable efforts of women to heal the ills caused by the war they find this natural and in conformity with woman's auxiliary rôle as their companions."

Commenting on Professor Muret's words, an editor remarks: "If man finds it natural that women should devote herself to nursing and helping the victims of the war, woman, on her side, finds it natural that man should sacrifice his life for an ideal. Thus both are in their places and the question as to whether the Feminist movement will be increased or diminished by this trial appears of trifling importance in these tragic days."

To the Feminists themselves, however, it still appears to be the vital question. Says one: "The war is the failure of masculine government. Men have given their measure. It is time that women should be called to share the power. It is a question of life and death for all the nations." Says another: "When we have our place in the sun, many evils will disappear or very nearly disappear—alcoholism, prostitution and this would have been made a reality had Feminists been let deal with it." As it is comparatively rare that a Feminist will descend to an explicit statement, her explanation is all the more interesting. In Miss Royden's opinion, it was the duty of the British empire to disarm and to disband both army and navy the moment Germany refused overtures for peace. "We could then have called forth the peace-lovers," writes Miss Royden, "to fling themselves in front of troop trains * * * and if not men we could have

called out women * * * nor would they have been slow to respond." * * * What prevented Miss Royden from calling out the women to fling themselves in front of the British troop-trains since the government as usual refused to be reasonable, Miss Royden does not state. Perhaps most of them were more usefully employed in packing their men's kits and taking over their work, or perhaps Miss Royden as usual is "talking thro' her hat." In what way the futile suicide of thousands of women would be an improvement on war, we fail to see, nor how it would advance the cause of woman or peace. Since the British government expended considerable energy in abolishing the suttee custom in India, it could hardly be expected to regard

favorably a similar performance in England. And we can hardly believe that a few hysterical suffragettes on the tracks would seriously intimidate Germany, who has always regarded England's toleration of their militants as an encouraging sign of degeneracy. Of all policies, the "suicidal policy" is generally considered to be the worst. It is interesting to know from some one of Miss Royden's consequence in Suffragette circles that that is the one the Feminists would have supported. Just how the lack of parliamentary vote prevented the "calling out" of the peace-loving women (i.e., the Militants) on this particular occasion, Miss Royden does not give herself the trouble to explain.

THE ANOMALY OF SUFFRAGE MILITARISM

(From the *English Anti-Suffrage Review*)

THE instinctive antagonism of women to war, about which we are hearing much nowadays, does not prevent some of them from establishing volunteer corps after the approved military pattern in the hope that they will be able to play their part, if there should be an invasion of these islands. We have repeatedly called attention to the wrongheadedness of this movement, which is entirely contrary to the instincts of civilization, and calculated, if it were connived at by the Government, to place Great Britain in a false light. In order that it may be realized how the women volunteer movement is apt to be viewed abroad we give an extract from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* of January 3, 1915. The article is from the pen of Miss Ida Husted Harper, a well-known Suffragist, who enlightens British Suffragists in the pages of the *Englishwoman* regarding things in America. This time she has taken upon herself to enlighten her own countrywomen about things in Great Britain—with exactly the same degree of accuracy and veracity as that with which she writes about American affairs. Miss I. H. Harper writes:

"The universal militancy in Great Britain at the present time had almost effaced the memory of that of the Suffragists, and people were partially forgetting their condemnation and punishment by the Government. All has been revived, however, by its recent action in calling to the front the flower of its womanhood, those between 18 and 40 years of age of highest physical efficiency, and arming and equipping them as a military force. These volunteer reserves are to be drilled by regular army officers, and when sufficiently skilled are to become drill-masters themselves."

The above extract affords a typical instance of the way in which the suffrage movement is fed. When Miss Harper writes about America in a Suffragist publication her statements are be-

lieved by her Suffragist readers and quoted as unimpeachable authority. Since the war began articles by her have appeared in England which are just as veracious as her remarks about women volunteers in England. In the *Public Ledger* Miss Harper, Suffragist, goes on to talk of female telegraph operators "who have to work at night and overtime for the same meagre pay" as that which they received when they were not restricted to ordinary hours. "At the present moment women are far more humanely treated in Germany, which is finding a better use for them than drilling for army purposes." In this way Miss Harper returns to the Women Volunteer Corps, which no doubt conflicts with her Suffragist peace ideas, and she seeks to reconcile the anomaly of women militarists by making the British Government responsible for "calling to the front the flower of its womanhood." The women volunteer movement is, of course, entirely Suffragist.

In *The New York Times*, April 14, appeared a cablegram from London which stated:

"Thirty-three thousand women had registered themselves for special war service up to the end of March. This statement was made to-night by Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, to a deputation representing the various women's societies in London.

"Six thousand of the women, Mr. Runciman said, had declared themselves willing to work in armament factories, 4,000 in clothing factories, 1,700 in dairy work, 500 as gardeners, 2,000 in various branches of agricultural work, 1,100 as shop assistants, 500 as leather workers and 5,000 in clerical work."

This illustrates the kind of emergency work which English women are doing. Nothing is said of enlisting women as "armies for defense," a scheme which, as stated above, is nothing more or less than Suffragist propaganda.

PATRIOTISM AS A CLOAK FOR PROPAGANDA

UNDER the heading, "Some Women and the War," J. Massie writes in the March *English Anti-Suffrage Review*:

It is an interesting and instructive study in the psychology of Suffragism to watch the processes by which, while normal people are being brought by this terrible war face to face with the realities of things, the abnormal woman sticks to her one idea and keeps what she calls her "cause" to the front in her own thoughts, in such society as she can influence, and, as far as she is permitted, in the newspapers. She appropriates war-like phraseology, and tells us with much exultation that she and her

set are "mobilizing," which, when reduced to prose, seems to mean that they are fussily and self-advertisingly giving themselves to some "patriotic" work which is natural to women, and to some which is unnatural. For example, they sew and knit comforts for the soldiers who are in the trenches or in training, but with such a perpetual running accompaniment of Suffragist self-laudation that they might as well embroider the sacred name of Mrs. Pankhurst or Mrs. Fawcett on every sock and every muffler, so as to give due notice to the soldiers as well as to the country at large that Suffragism alone has

the trade-mark of thoughtful and benevolent patriotism. Or else as nurses not specially trained or disciplined they go as near to the firing line as the worried and indulgent army authorities will allow them, till these authorities get heartily sick of them and their meddlesome irregularities, and they are sent home again to be out of the way. We have heard something authoritatively of Suffragist women establishing and managing "hospital units" where none but Suffragist doctresses and nurses need apply, and where the ministrations to the sick and wounded are systematically mingled with the whispered "word in season," gently insinuating that the "vote" would be a fitting return for women's kindness and attention. It is true that Suffragists like Mrs. Flora Annie Steel write to the press admitting that there are "many women who from ignorance, selfishness or sheer stupidity fail to see their duty to the nation." But even here King Charles's head shows itself once more. Mrs. Steel is quite sure where to lay the blame. It is because these women have not the "vote." "My only wonder is that this apathy is not universal. When people are diligently taught that the home is their only (?) sphere, that they degrade themselves by interest (?) in things imperial, things national, their outlook inevitably becomes personal, narrow. We are only reaping what we have sown." What a travesty of the teaching that women have a wide sphere and which draws the line solely at imperial government by women! And what a libel on the

countless multitude of Anti-Suffragists who are devoting themselves morning, noon and night just now to "their duty to the nation"!

Countess of Aberdeen is the President of the International Council of Women which consists of National Councils of Women from almost every country in the world.

A letter recently received by one of the officers of the Council of Women of the United States says that Lady Aberdeen had declined the invitation to go to the Women's Peace Conference at the Hague and had asked the other international officers to do the same.

Peace is bound to come, not when the world is womanized, but when it becomes spiritualized and humanized.

—Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz.

The attention of our readers is called to the leading article in *The Atlantic Monthly* for May, written by Agnes Repplier. The subject is that which we have just been treating—"Women and War."

THE RECENT REJECTION OF RADICALISM

BY MRS. GEORGE P. WHITE

Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

YES, "it's coming"—"bound to come"—the defeat of Mormonism, Socialism, Feminism and Votes for Women.

Since last November 1st twelve great States have rejected radicalism disguised as woman suffrage, and after next November four more great States—Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts—will have defeated it, if men learn how the majority of the women stand on this question; and consider the facts and figures showing how suffrage has increased taxation, lessened respect for law, weakened administration and lowered the legal and social status of women where it exists.

And yet woman suffrage has not brought one exclusive law in a single State for the benefit of women and children or the uplift of social conditions. If you are of the opposite opinion, what is that law? Suffrage debaters and publicists have never accepted the "Anti" challenge to cite it.

But the "Anti" points in the "case against woman suffrage" are flawless.

We say it has increased taxation—which, of course, automatically explains why so many "tax-paying women" are against suffrage. Anyone has but to look at Colorado, with woman suffrage 23 years, and the highest per capita tax in the Union, and examine the recent Census report on taxation to see that the "high cost of double suffrage" is no joke.

Chicago, too, with its late million and a half dollar election, where the women just exactly duplicated the work of the men, is beginning to feel the force of feminine franchise extravagance, and the staunchest supporter of the "cause" in that city, the *Chicago American*, recently headed a blazing editorial, "Will the Woman Suffrage Act of Illinois be Repealed?"

Yes, it will—"eventually, so why not now?" Two enterprising suffrage leaders are using all the "indirect influence" they have on the legislators not to repeal it, but the *American* exhibits all the fear a Brisbane imagination can express that there is a "well-organized scheme to take the franchise away from Illinois women."

And it will be nothing unique when it is done. Suffragists have a platform habit of boasting that "suffrage for women has never been repealed anywhere it was established," but, like the "nine million women in factories," and some other soap-box slogans, it just simply is not so.

They forget, if they ever knew, that women sat in the English Parliament over four hundred years ago; that Austria abolished tax-paying suffrage for women nearly a century ago, "on a wave of democracy," as Dr. Anna Howard Shaw recently admitted in a special article in the *N. Y. Evening Post*. Neither do they remember that New Jersey abolished the ballot for women as early as 1807, after experiencing all it could stand of women repeaters, vote sellers, etc.; nor that Switzerland curtailed some of the political privileges of women in 1914. If Illinois does away with "votes for women" it will merely imitate other civilized communities which have developed to a realization of woman's proper relation to government and society.

Has suffrage lessened respect for law and weakened administration? We invite you to look again at the "model" suffrage State, Colorado, for the answer. Before the Federal Industrial Relations Commission it was testified that "sheep, mules, box-cars and dead men" were voted by the corporations in Colorado elections. Moreover, the whole people of this country have had to pay for two armed interventions in Colorado, to afford police protection to the citizens of that State who are so heavily burdened with taxes already. Besides, if you speak of "purified politics," where else has a Judge Lindsey found such mucky material for his "Beast"; what other State has had to call for Federal troops twice in ten years to protect women and children from the muskets of a militia sworn to the protection of human life; what other State in recent years has dismissed a legislator for perjury and involved a woman in a scheme to do away with its juvenile court?

As for the legal status of women, how do you like the decision of the California judge in Los Angeles last week against a wife for non-support of her husband and granting him alimony?

"Women wouldn't lose," the Suffragists say. "You can eat your cake and have it," they believe. Women have lost their dower rights in most of the suffrage States, in several of them they cannot acquire separate property except by gift or inheritance; their earnings belong to their husbands unless they live separate, and now, as we see, they must pay alimony in California! It is true that Utah led California in this "equality" of making a woman support the husband, but it surely shows the drift of things "when women get the vote."

"Equal rights" will cure itself if women are given a few more such decisions in suffrage States. All it needs is for a few incidents to occur to offset the suffrage theorizing, and the bubble of "equal rights" will be as flat as "free silver."

A stalwart six-foot Suffragist on an ocean liner recently declared: "I despise men; I travel without an escort; I believe in absolute equality for both sexes."

When lights were ordered out and rumors floated about the cabins that a submarine had been sighted, the mannish female was the first to don a life-preserver and plead with the officer of the deck: "Won't you please see that we women are protected and that we get into the boats first? Can't I get in one of them now, to be sure of my place?"

There never will come a time when women will not need men nor when men will not need women, but if we know anything about history there never has been any demand in the world for a double-sexed or non-sexed "human being." Did you ever hear of anyone's marrying or loving a merely "human being"? Just try to think of spending your life with one of these purely "persons" who are neither man nor woman, but just "people" in the abstract. Can you even conceive of a civilization where you wouldn't know which was what; where, for instance, "Jack-Johnson-Williamson-Bail" might be a thrice-divorced "new woman," or perhaps the unfortunate son of three expert feminist step-mothers!

As G. K. Chesterton says, you cannot argue about the "equality" of men and women any more than you can about the relative value of a key and a lock. We all recall the fable of the various members that rebelled against the "tyranny" of the stomach and sought "equality" with it, but foolish women who want the vote simply "because" they want it cannot take lessons from history, fables, or anything but enterprising feminist imaginations. But never let any feminist make you believe anything is "coming" but the complete overthrow of all this mad nonsense about feminist apartments, babies on the roof in charge of experts and a "world where husbands will do half the housework."

Since November 1, 1912, only two States, Montana and Nevada, with the smallest percentages of women and of married men in the world, have adopted suffrage. Montana and Nevada, along with Arizona, could not equal the population of Pittsburgh! Their combined majorities amounted to 7,366 votes. And over 5,000 of those were Socialist votes, and over 2,000 were Mormon votes, according to suffrage leaders themselves.

On the other hand, since then Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota, with over sixteen millions of population, have defeated suffrage at the polls nine times by an average majority of 76,643 votes per State. Michigan and Ohio have defeated it twice, by highly increased majorities, in proportion to the amount of information the people had on the question. Without the Antis in 1912, suffrage just missed "slipping through" Michigan by 760 votes, but in 1913 we swamped it by 96,144 majority. In 1912 Ohio defeated votes for women by 87,000; after the Suffragists put up the fight of their lives in 1914 the Anti-Suffragists won by 182,000. These figures speak for themselves, and need no comment.

Why, even the Suffragists are trying now to come in out of the downpour of popular indignation against feminist teachings which we have been exposing for years. A suffrage headquarters now wears the sign, "Of course, woman's work is in the home"—after the Antis conclusively demonstrated to Mrs. Catt that her assertion that "woman's work has gone out of the home and into store, factory and shop" just would not agree with statistics. Even the feminist who, a year ago, was preaching "the home is no more holy than the postoffice," and "even a cat can be a mother," is now trying to make believe she wants the "mother-spirit" extended into politics.

The mother-spirit, however, is not a politician, nor does it become the suffrage pose of slavery that has been harped upon since 1848. Nor is the recent suffrage speech of a college professor who thinks that a woman who takes shelter, food and clothing from her husband is accepting "blood money" a good thing to turn loose while you are talking "mother-spirit." Neither can we forget that even at the fountainhead of suffrage its creed is polluted with rebellion, discontent and irreverence. What feminist of 1915, for instance, has beaten this, from page 82, Volume I, of the "History of Woman Suffrage," which was written by the sanctified heroines and pioneers of the "cause":

"This doctrine of Jesus, as preached by Paul, If embraced in its spirit, will ruin us all."

And it will! The old-time gospel, the old-fashioned ideals and Christian civilization is coming into its own, and when it arrives as the keynote of public opinion, we will have to build museums to preserve specimens of the Feminist, Socialist and Woman Agitator.

"HOW HAS IT WORKED WHERE THEY VOTE?"

IN science or mechanics the most severe indictment that can be brought against a machine or a formula is that it "won't work," involves extra expense in operation and does not accomplish the purposes intended.

The recent Illinois election, in which women took part, especially in Chicago, on an "equal footing" with the men, shows not only that all of these vital objections can be sustained against the expediency of granting the franchise to women, but that in addition suffrage is distinctly harmful to the women themselves. Let us examine the facts and figures and see if this is true. On April 6th 243,000 women and 426,000 men voted in Chicago. The men cast 88 per cent. of their registration and the women 86 per cent., which would seem to show that an approximately equal proportion of the men and women vote. However, when we take into account the fact that over 60 per cent. of the men over twenty-one registered, while less than 40 per cent. of the women registered, and consider that though there are only 111 men to every 100 women in Chicago, over 170 men to every 100 women voted, we see that the men really take a much greater interest in elections than the women. But, as the Suffragists say, the women are get-

ting out a stronger vote in Chicago at each election, and in a few more years it will probably be numerically "equal" to the men's—unless the suffrage "cause" and "votes for women" are abandoned. As but 33.6 per cent. of the women over twenty-one voted even at this greatest of all municipal elections—53 per cent. of the total possible male electorate voted—it cannot be maintained that the majority of the women will vote or want to vote, but it cannot be denied that the lure of politics is appealing to a growing proportion of the women who are entitled to enter great municipal campaigns like Chicago's. But the question of figures and percentages is of little value unless, in addition, we arrive at the basic question as to whether a doubled electorate is of benefit, and this issue, as never before in the world, the Chicago figures settle beyond controversy.

Everyone knows that it is of no benefit, mathematically, to multiply figures without changing their relative values, and as politics is absolutely based on relative figures, double suffrage that includes both sexes is of no more effect than giving two votes to every man, unless it changes the result. Now let us examine the Chicago election. William Hale Thompson was elected mayor

by a majority of 139,624 votes—probably the highest plurality percentage ever given at an American election. He got over 60 per cent. of the total vote cast. Also he received 60 per cent. of all the men's votes, and 63 per cent. of all the women's votes. In other words, if you absolutely threw out the entire woman vote in the Chicago election it would make practically no difference in Thompson's plurality percentage. Had two votes instead of one been given to each man the result would have been no more similar than it was. This of course, is obviously due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the electors of both sexes are married, and the husband evidently controls the vote of his wife. Is there any other explanation of this remarkable coincidence in the percentages of women and men who elected Mayor Thompson? Now there is no Suffragist in the country who would contend that it would help politics if every man were given two votes—and yet we see in the largest election ever held under woman suffrage that is exactly what it means in politics. Besides the similarity in the men's and women's vote for mayor, the whole municipal ticket, the bond issues and annexation propositions were voted on almost identically the same by both sexes. Thirty-two Socialists were elected. You may scratch off the woman's vote figures in every instance and issue and you have the same result.

Thus we see that in politics woman suffrage practically makes no difference, except in expense to the taxpayers for additional ballots and polling places. Instead of 500,000 "little ballots"—they are actually four feet long—that would have sufficed under male suffrage, over a million and a quarter had to be printed; instead of 426,000 votes to count and clerks to count them, it took many more clerks to count 669,000 ballots. It costs more money to have double suffrage than it does to be without it—that is the political effect to the State.

But the far-reaching question is not the political effect, but the social effect. Women seem to have no influence on politics through the exercise of the franchise, they merely increase taxation—but what effect has politics on the women? A correspondent in Chicago, a witness of the recent election, describes this phase of the election very graphically:

"I have never given deep thought to the question of woman's enfranchisement from an academic point of view, but at your suggestion I went around to all the polling places we could reach on Tuesday, and what I saw impressed me as inexpressibly sodden, and truly likely to have a harmful effect on the character and

status of women. The women took an 'equal' part in the election—absolutely. The women politicians, the women workers and the women partisans 'whooped it up' for their candidates in exactly the same way the men did—only it looked so different on the part of the women. For instance, to see the wife of a candidate in one of the best residential districts running out on the street begging negro men and others to vote for her husband is a thing that creates an altogether different impression than to witness a man trying to influence another's vote. Also to see women entering polling places in wretched condition, running the gauntlet of all the male and female electioneers of every race and class under the sun; accosted by men who would be arrested for addressing them on any other day or for any other reason, without acquaintance, is rather a saddening experience. Then, too, to know that the women of both parties took an active part in suppressing the meeting of its opponents by screams and hisses, and not even allowing the principal candidates the courtesy of a public hearing, is a hard blow to all the things we have been taught about woman's innate refinement, and the suffrage theory that woman would elevate politics. She simply hasn't; instead, politics has lowered women. The foreign women on the West Side carried, pushed, and some even drove their many babies to the polls with them. I could not help thinking of your arguments about forcing suffrage upon women as I saw a woman behind a pair of toy reins actually driving her little girl into a polling place.

"Although we made a wide tour of the city, we could not find the polling places in churches and the fashionable homes, as you say the Eastern Suffragists declare, since women's purifying influence on politics came to Chicago. However, we did find, at Michigan and Forty-fifth, one of the 'swell' neighborhoods, where live some of Chicago's richest families, that the women were actually compelled to vote in a livery stable around the corner, where the former horse-stalls became election booths. Nearly all of the polling places were in barber shops, small stores and offices, etc., that the ordinary woman would never enter from choice. Some were next to dance halls of bad repute, and many in the most dilapidated condition.

"The nearest thing to a riot was at a meeting presided over by a woman, where other women did most of the cat-calling, etc. 'Till and after midnight women, and even young girls, paraded the streets and jumped into autos with unknown men in celebrating the victory."

THE CHANGED TACTICS OF THE SUFFRAGISTS

MRS. CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON GILMAN evidently believes the time has come to conciliate the Anti-Suffragists. Not only have we a right to a contrary opinion, but it is even considered the part of wisdom to grant us a modicum of conscience, education and intelligence. The extreme liberality of Mrs. Gilman's views can be gathered from the following extract from her recent speech before the Congressional Union. Mud-slinging having failed, a change of tactics is evidently in process. "There are two kinds of opposition to woman suffrage," said Mrs. Gilman, "one from people whose class interests are menaced, including the distinctly vicious interests; and the other from a small earnest body of sincere, educated intelligent, conscientious, perfectly respectable women opposed to woman suffrage on really conscientious grounds. There is no collusion between these two sorts of people. It is an unfortunate coincidence that both oppose woman suffrage. They are doing a great deal of work in spots. * * * They truly believe that woman suffrage is a terrible menace to humanity. They are afraid of it—an evil, a danger and a thing that would work harm to the country. Is this fear based on facts? It is

not an academic question of the future, but an established fact.

"When the men of Wyoming refused to come into the Union as a State unless they could bring their women with them, it was an experiment. In all other States where men have voted for woman suffrage it has not been an experiment, because it has been tried in Wyoming. If men are to be trusted in political matters, how do the Antis account for the fact that millions of voters were unable to see any of the evils they fear in woman suffrage. Spend a quarter and get their best literature; study it and then ask, 'Is this all you have been able to gather in forty years? (It is really only half that—Editor PROTEST.) Is it sufficiently terrible to justify that over-mastering fear? Is it enough to draw women from their families and send them forth to lecture for that cause?'"

No one could question Mrs. Gilman's cleverness. Her remarks might seem almost unanswerable and yet are they? We are, of course, immensely flattered at the adjectives "sincere, educated, intelligent, conscientious and perfectly respectable" and we confess to quite a feeling of pleasure that they are not followed by the words, "but utterly misguided" which generally

go to modify the same terms when applied by Suffragists. But in spite of all this honeyed language (so unaccustomed as to be puzzling) we question Mrs. Gilman's conclusions.

In regard to Wyoming, for instance, it might be said that men learn the science of politics by experience and that they learn through mistakes. The female population of Wyoming was proportionately small forty years ago, and men knew less of women. Therefore woman's influence counted for nothing in deciding the question of suffrage and also made very slight difference in voting results. It is not always possible for men or women either to look ahead and the greatest political mistakes in our civilization have been due to just such short-sighted legislation. The problems of Wyoming forty years ago bear very slight relation to the problems of such States as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts to-day. It was easy enough to present the very scarce representatives of the fair sex in Wyoming with a ballot on a silver salver then, and not very dangerous either so long as distances were prohibitive and the masculine element predominated. Things are different in Massachusetts, for instance, where women outnumber men, or in Georgia where the negroes have to be considered. Mrs. Gilman, however, alludes to the "millions of men" who have voted for woman suffrage and says that if men are to be trusted in matters political, how was it that they were unable to see any evil in woman suffrage. To this we would reply that we have never claimed that men were infallible, but only that their political judgment was surer than women's. If they are capable of such emotional stampedes as have oc-

curred of late years, there is only one more reason for being thankful that in the prevalence of isms, women had not the vote. Nothing so disgraceful and senseless as the militant campaign has so far occurred. We would also remark that though "millions of men" have been temporarily affected by Feminist influence (which is not surprising), the majorities have in most States been satisfactory against suffrage, and government is a science so largely empirical that no theory can last which is incapable of demonstrating results. The test of an administration is results.

Mrs. Gilman says the results of woman suffrage are not very bad—not "terrible" enough to account for "over-mastering fear." We contend that there are no results politically worthy of the name and that when one reflects on the tremendous waste of activity for over sixty years, the vast sums of money expended and the social disharmony produced, this is all that is necessary in order to prove woman suffrage a failure. But, of course, we do believe that the evil would gradually evolve from a negative into a positive menace should it invade more populous and complicated social centers. "Over-mastering fear" we have none, for we are sure of being able to stay the disease, but Mrs. Gilman's attempts to make the germ appear harmless and innocuous do not impress us from the mouth of so radical and able a Feminist. All that we gather from the new note in Mrs. Gilman's speech is that the slanderous campaign having failed, Anti-Suffragists are now to be propitiated. It is a testimonial to the efficiency and success of the anti-suffrage campaigns in 1914, which we are glad to receive.

—J. T. W.

THE BEAUTIFUL THEORY OF PARADISE PALACE

BY LAURA FAY-SMITH

(From the New York Times)

IN a late issue of *The Sunday Times* there was a long report of a conversation with Miss Henrietta Rodman, in which she gave an extended sketch of what the feminists mean to do once they are able to capitalize their project of erecting a huge building in which they propose to show the world what practical feminism can contribute to the happiness and prosperity of humanity.

This building, primarily, will have four hundred rooms, divided into apartments ranging from one to several rooms, according to the need of the occupants, fitted with all the latest modern conveniences. The female tenants will all be wage-earners or in business or professions, whether married or single. None of them will have to do either cooking, washing, cleaning, sewing or mending, or taking care of children. All the labor of the house is to be in the hands of a staff of "trained experts." Who was to be the chief of staff Miss Rodman did not explain.

The object of this Paradise Palace, as I have called it, is to enable couples to "afford to have children," which now, Miss Rodman says, they are too poor to do. The feminist theory is that if they could pack one or two hundred couples into one building and pay a retinue of "trained experts" to do every bit of the housework for them the wives could earn money enough to pay the said experts. That the babies as soon as born should be given over to the care of a trained nurse; that in the morning the mother, having rung the bell for the baby, should "enjoy it" while "doing her hair."

Afterward the baby and the nurse should be relegated to the general nursery, where all the other babies were congregated, there to remain until its business woman of a mother should call for it at night, when, after she had "enjoyed" it for a few minutes, the child should be fed and then promptly deposited in its crib for the night. Then this teacher-mother or stenographer-mother would either refresh her soul with a little of her husband's com-

pany or together they would go somewhere for amusement or instruction. The "trained nurse," meantime, should stand guard over this practically orphaned child.

Now if there is a thing proved beyond peradventure by experience it is that real thrift consists in serving one's self instead of paying someone else to do it. The prosperity of this country primarily was secured by daily economies of small sums. Capital is only the huge reservoir formed by innumerable financial rivulets, as the books of stock companies abundantly prove. Also it is well known that expert service of any kind is very expensive. A trained nurse may command from \$25 to \$30 a week, with board, and when we come to cooks and chambermaids, anywhere from \$6 to \$8 per week is demanded for the former and \$5 for the latter. Laundresses charge \$1.50 per day, and seamstresses from \$2 to \$2.50 with dinner. So that the budget for service alone in the Paradise Palace would be pretty steep.

Miss Rodman says that at two years old the Paradise Palace baby would be put into a "Montessori school" kept by "trained experts," and there educated until its sixth year. Then, having absorbed all the Montessori it could swallow, the child should be put into a kindergarten taught by still another "trained expert," where it should remain until ten years old. Beyond that period Miss Rodman does not enlighten us as to the future of the Paradise Palace child, but merely says, cursorily, that we must see that the public schools are all right in order that the child shall be properly educated therein!

So much for the small children would the feminist system do.

It is noticeable that in this interview the husband plays a part so small as to be negligible. The grand point it emphasizes is money-making for women. They must have time to harness themselves to some part of the great industrial machine of our civilization, must give themselves wholly to its exactions as men do, while by nature's law they are required to do exactly the re-

verse. For the genius of the man is for specialized and concentrated effort while that of the woman is for adapted effort and distributed energy, as every mother and housekeeper knows.

Chesterton says that a woman is a universalist because she looks after everything; that a man may only be an anarchist in his own house. But in the Paradise Palace there shall be no anarchy. The baby shan't strew his playthings over the parlor floor but only over the wide spaces of a common nursery, where no mother's voice is heard commanding him to pick them up, thus teaching him to be orderly. In the Paradise Palace we are not told of the methods of feeding its large population, though presumably the children would have to have a midday meal. So I suppose the ubiquitous "trained expert" would see that they didn't eat too much. Where the refectory was to be held Miss Rodman did not say—probably some big dining-room, where mothers were not.

And what of the children after school hours? For the teacher-mother and stenographer-mother don't get home at 3 p. m. The answer is, that the children will be relegated to the roof garden or the general playroom, where they will learn the Isidora Duncan dances and all sorts of splendid recreations which less fortunate children whose mothers live at home don't have.

And so when we come down to the crux of the matter we find that the secret of the feminist movement lies in a monstrous egotism, which would chain women to the oar to make money, that with that money they may buy immunity from all that is disagreeable drudgery. The feminist wants to hire other women to do what she ought to do herself; she wants to climb high above the harsh labors of the house, on the shoulders of other women whose hard necessity compels them to be her paid servants.

There is one curious and unaccountable point in the feminist philosophy. They don't realize that the masculine occupations they are so eager to grasp are tiresome. Yet what is more monotonous than office work, with its bookkeeping and writing of business letters? There are young men in New York who spend hours every day in underground vaults, clipping off coupons. One of Tiffany's men spent twenty-five years spinning a polishing wheel. Where was "growth" for that man? I know an excellent violinist who said that playing in orchestras was as hard as sawing wood! What we have to do is always hard.

When the Creator made man and woman so like each other, yet so different, He followed a law of differentiation which seems to have governed Him in much of His work, as when He gives to a woman a power of masculine brain work, and to a man the exquisitely delicate manipulation which results in the marvelous

perfection of scientific instruments and enables him to draw forth the poignant pathos of the violin tone in music.

To return to the children of the Paradise Palace—it is hard to predict what the estimate of life would be among those whose parents never did anything disagreeable, and who, consequently, would never make them do it. A life from which all hardness should be eliminated could never make the "good soldiers" that the Apostle wrote of. The methods of the feminists seem to take the backbone out of the sex, and substitute for it the paid efficiency of mercenaries. But the enhanced cost of living under the system of the Paradise Palace, which we are considering, will always make it an experiment for the few.

It looks as if the feminists wished to erect a privileged class of women (a sort of aristocracy), who should do no women's work. I question what the attitude of the average man's mind would be whose wife would leave his children to hirelings for nineteen-twentieths of the time. How many dollars would it take to pay him and them for the want of the thousand ministrations that the true mother lavishes upon her children?

There are women with whom the maternal passion is so strong that they will wear their lives out in caring for other people's children, as is exemplified in convents and many other charitable institutions. But these are exceptional, as are those young girls who, Miss Rodman says, will "study mothercraft" (at second hand) under the guidance of the "trained" expert in the Paradise Palace nurseries.

In conclusion, I would like to make a suggestion to the leaders of this movement. In order to eliminate the last vestige of the disagreeable from the life in the Paradise Palace, there should be only adopted children in the place. Then the pseudo-mothers could "enjoy them spiritually" (I use Miss Rodman's own words) with nothing to remind them of the painful or unpleasant memories which inevitably attach to actual maternity. As in the lower walks of life there are always plenty of parents who are at their wits' end to provide for their superfluous progeny, no doubt they would be glad to furnish children for the Paradise Palace for a reasonable consideration, or even for nothing at all.

Should the feminist cult ever become general in the world (which Heaven forbid!) we may expect Mother Nature to take a hand in the game and give us big, square-shouldered, flat-chested girls, with large hands and brawny arms to get and keep with, and huge feet on which to stand their ground.

Then will follow the decay of the gentle graces, the tender charms of women that poets have sung and painters have pictured, and instead we shall have a set of keen, cold calculators having money as their only standard of value.

A SUFFRAGIST'S REPLY TO MR. WICKERSHAM

(Editorial from the New York SUN)

IS the Hon. George Woodward Wickersham, who stalked "big business" with sleepless assiduity and cunning intelligence and apparent joy in the sport, now and henceforth to be tracked and popped at by subtle and persistent hunters? And is there already in operation a Department of Poetic Justice? Such thoughts surge into the mind as the Suffragists begin—they're only beginning—to chase and pepper him for his opposition to petticoats at the ballot box. Of several curious and mischievous attacks this is the most original:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: May I call your attention to the fact that Mr. Wickersham, who has just been objecting to women's suffrage on the ground that it would break up the home, lives in an apart-

ment hotel? Even the greatest minds, it would thus appear, have strange elements of inconsistency.

"NEW YORK, March 26."

A disbeliever in "equality of the sexes," Mr. Wickersham clings to that ancient notion, practice and fallacy about "chivalry" and "courtesy" to the Superior Sex. He refuses to translate "place aux dames" as "office for women"! This antiquated habit of mind and body, this inveterate politeness will force him to waive any objection to the law laid down by this lady that a dweller in flats, apartment houses, hotels and by necessary implication "tenement houses" and boarding houses, is homeless. Most married folks in this town are thus without a home. The leading parallel case in this

branch of the law is that of Mark Twain against France. No word for home, no home; no house, no home.

Again, Mr. Wickersham is too civil to plead in confession and avoidance that even if a hotel is not a home he has always had a home at Cedarhurst or elsewhere. The lady says he is homeless. A pretty fellow to be "objecting to women's suffrage on the ground that it would break up the home"! He is the Man Without a Home; a poor, homeless wanderer in the pitiless storm of darts and arrows, tongues and pens feminine.

"If the Red Slayer thinks he slays" he has only to wait and the bumbailiffs of the Department of Poetic Justice will thunder at his door. For a man can have doors without having a home.

AN EIGHT MILLION DOLLAR FALSEHOOD

THERE has been much comment lately by Suffragists pleading the poverty of "the cause" and pointing out the vast resources of the Anti-Suffragists. The following reveals the real situation, as well as a peculiar form of misleading, extravagant suffrage assertion:

Mrs. Antoinette Funk said at a meeting in Jersey City, "We have only \$5,000 in our treasury. The N. J. Antis have \$500,000, received from the liquor interests of this State."

The New Jersey Anti-Suffrage Organization has never received or been offered any money whatever by any individual or organization connected with the liquor interests.

The Suffragists have, and they know they have, ten times as much money to spend as we have. Of course, they will need more money, as the people are on our side. It cost them fifty thousand to our fifteen when they lost five states in November, but each of the Eastern States will have more suffrage money than that this year. New York Suffragists expect to spend \$200,000 in their campaign for suffrage, Pennsylvania Suffragists have already acknowledged over \$60,000 for the "cause." Fifteen thousand in the National anti-suffrage treasury would enable us to answer all the suffrage arguments, and to reach every voter with them—and with both sides of the suffrage question presented, we know the average man will decide just as the average judge at all the big debates decides—against suffrage. The Suffragists need lots of money to do all the freaky things the Anti-Suffragists wouldn't do for all the money in the world. If they confined themselves to logic and figures and the evidence presented as to how suffrage actually works, instead of bringing false accusations, without even a hint of evidence, and raising false issues after the manner of eleventh hour political attacks, they would have no chance. They cannot win on the evidence, on fact, on logic, on truth.

As being typical of their methods in this single phase of campaign funds, we quote a suffrage letter:

"We have but 200 days before the close of the suffrage campaign in New York State. We must have \$150,000 in our treasury before May 5th.

"Do you realize that the winning of the Empire State will have the greatest influence in the enfranchisement of the women in the United States of America.

"Without money we cannot win! Without the force of well-known women, etc."

There is no talk of winning on the

ground of justice or the old claim of equality, but a cold-blooded proposition to buy what they want. An Anti-Suffragist showed this letter to a well-seasoned politician and asked him what he thought it meant. He said: "It means only one thing. They intend to buy the floating vote. They must also have hopes of buying up both the Republican and Democratic votes, as well, as a sworn statement of all actual expenses of these two great parties combined at the last gubernatorial election in this state was but \$130,000."

These money getters are talking about the purifying influence of women politicians. They have shown their hand too soon. They are talking about watching their interests at the polls, and we call upon the leaders in every voting district to see what will be done not only with this \$150,000, but with the countless thousands thrown in that melting pot so fitly named, heated by the fires of Feminism, Socialism, sex antagonism, greed and dozens of other combustibles.

A LETTER addressed to Lillian H. Wakefield, Minneapolis, was given out for publication in the press on April 12th. It is presented here in abbreviated form owing to lack of space:

"DEAR MADAM:

"The charge that the liquor interests are to contribute \$8,000,000 to the anti-suffrage campaign in Massachusetts is so ridiculous on its face that it is difficult to believe that it can be taken seriously by any sane person.

"It appears from your letter that the charge was first made public in an article by Ida Husted Harper in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* of March 14th, and has since been repeated by Mrs. David P. Simpson of Minnesota and other prominent suffrage speakers. As will be seen by the following excerpt from her *Ledger* article, Mrs. Harper is careful not to mother the story, but she leaves the inference that she knows its origin and believes it to be substantially true:

"The report comes from a creditable source that the liquor interests of Massachusetts have decided to spend \$8,000,000 to defeat the woman suffrage amendment in that State. This may be an overestimate of a few millions, but there will be plenty of money for the men and women who work against it and not very much for those who work for it, and this will be equally true in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania."

"As matters stand, the responsibility for

the charge rests entirely with Mrs. Harper.

"In the meantime, in order that there may be no misunderstanding of their position, the Anti-Suffragists of Massachusetts wish to make the following categorical denial:

"Not only have the liquor interests not contributed, or offered to contribute, or promised to contribute \$8,000,000, or \$1,000,000, or \$1, or any sum whatever to the anti-suffrage campaign in Massachusetts, but such contributions, or any contribution, if offered by the liquor interests, would not be accepted by the Anti-Suffragists of Massachusetts.

"It may be said that Mrs. Harper did not charge that the liquor interests had contributed or offered to contribute to the anti-suffrage campaign but that they had decided to spend \$8,000,000 to defeat women suffrage. The inference is clear, however, and there is no mistaking the purpose to deceive the voter into the belief that a financial alliance exists between anti-suffrage and the saloon. Furthermore, this narrow construction of her words does not make her story any the less ridiculous, because if the liquor interests have discovered a way to spend \$8,000,000 or \$1,000,000 or \$100,000 in a political campaign in Massachusetts without getting into jail they have discovered a remarkable loophole in one of the strictest corrupt practices acts yet enacted in any State.

"There is another ridiculous side to this story, and that is that the liquor interests should be willing to spend a small fortune to defeat woman suffrage, when experience in suffrage States shows that the liquor interests have nothing to fear from women voters, and woman suffrage advocates are continually protesting that they have no designs on the saloon.

"Let us say in conclusion that if this \$8,000,000 canard had originated with and been circulated by men in the heat of a political campaign we should know how to characterize it. But as it is purely the product of Suffragist women, whose avowed purpose is to purify politics and make the campaign lie a thing of the past, we think we are justified in expecting them either to prove their charge or to apologize to the anti-suffrage men and women of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"Sincerely yours,

(Signed) "MRS. JAMES M. CODMAN,
"Pres. and Treas., Mass. Women's
Anti-Suffrage Ass'n.

(Signed) "AUGUSTIN H. PARKER,
"Treas. Men's Committee, Mass.
Women's Anti-Suffrage Ass'n."

THE NEW SUFFRAGE "WAR CRY"

(From the New York Press)

"PRESIDENT WILSON must go."

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Chairman of the National Woman Voters' Committee, who is rallying an army of 4,000,000 women voters of the country, made this statement in an interview she gave to the New York Press yesterday.

"We have sounded the war cry," said Mrs. Belmont, smiling significantly. "Now, this organized effort is to mean war action," she added, as she went over the plans for this big nation-wide suffrage campaign to be directed on the coming Congress.

"Of course," explained Mrs. Belmont, "we shall still continue to use our persuasion with President Wilson, but if he continues to turn a deaf ear to our cause he must go. By his attitude toward the women of the country, however, he has already, I may say, put himself out."

* * * * *

"If the men fail to heed our demands in Congress," said Mrs. Belmont, "the organizations of women voters now being perfected in the suffrage States will direct a fight on these men in their States."

"We shall make it very uncomfortable for them, and expect to defeat them should they ever come up for re-election. The national organization will use its influence on the coming Congress, and at the next Presidential election we intend to defeat Mr. Wilson if he comes up again as a candidate for this office unless he changes his attitude toward this question in the meantime," said Mrs. Belmont.

That the proposed plan of work has met

with high favor on the part of interested Suffragists of the country, Mrs. Belmont pointed to the fact that the past three days had brought three contributions to this work of \$1,000 each.

Asked if she did not believe that when women of the country had obtained the vote they could work just as well with men for the reforms they were keen on having brought about Mrs. Belmont said:

"No, it will still be necessary to have a woman's political party, because men are too utterly indifferent to apply themselves, to devote the same time and interest as women to the important things that women will want done to improve conditions."

The Suffragists' intentions as set forth by Mrs. Belmont are an illuminating side-light on the new civic ideals which will be inaugurated should the new woman's political party ever become something more than talk.

It has been distinctly evident in the States where women are senators and political party chairmen that Suffragists seek their share of the political jobs. The following verse by Florence Goff Schwarz seems a prophecy fulfilled:

Mother is running for mayor,
Trying to beat Jane McCord;
Auntie is clerk of election,
Grandma is boss of the ward.
Sister is stumping the county,
So is Miranda and Sue;
Bridget, she serves on the jury,
There's nothing for father to do.

"A NEW POLITICAL NUISANCE"

(Editorial from San Francisco Examiner)

WOMEN'S campaign clubs are springing up like mushrooms over night. We do not mean permanent organizations, but temporary affairs, meant to boost individual candidates. A consistent advocate of woman's suffrage, *The Examiner* is sorry to see these so-called clubs formed.

Everybody knows what the average campaign club is. It is an old chestnut. Nine times in ten it is financed by the candidate himself, to the extent of paying one or two "officers," or else it is formed to make a candidate "come across."

Women should keep clear of these outworn political schemes. It is the business of women to prove the argument their

friends among the men made for them—that they would bring needed decency into politics.

The handful of women who are making themselves conspicuous—and a nuisance—running about in the rôle of ward politicians and working in the lively expectation of favors to come, should be sat upon by that great body of women who are well content to unite a sensible use of the suffrage with an equally sensible resolve to keep on attending to the duties of a wife, mother and home-maker—the finest and most desirable and most useful end to which human energies can be directed.

Be individual, you women. Vote as you think yourself you ought to vote. And keep out of catch-a-penny, catch-a-job, catch-a-vote, fly-by-night political clubs.

"PURIFICATION"

The Suffragists promise a purification of politics if women "get the vote," yet show many evidences of their insincerity in their own work.

To start an untruthful story for purposes of sensation, and later, when it has convinced the credulous, declare it a mistake or deny it was ever said is a publicity practice long ago abandoned by reputable men. Yet we find the Suffragists pursuing exactly these tactics.

Many of the stories are trivial, but the sum total shows a perverted sense of fairness and square dealing.

A suffrage speaker on the streets of Philadelphia, opposite the Equal Franchise Headquarters, makes a persistent practice of quoting laws, industrial conditions and figures that she should know are untrue. The "cause" of votes for women is poverty-stricken, indeed, for arguments when it cannot make a fair plea on the basis of its record of 45 years in Wyoming, 23 in Colorado, and 19 in Idaho and Utah, but must use distortion and cunning suppression of relative conditions and comparisons in order to enter a specious appeal for the ballot.

When the Philadelphia *North American* published a full-page signed article by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association, on "Cut Out the Marriage Ceremony," Dr. Shaw, after *Life* and the New York *Sun* had started a vigorous condemnation of her preachments that went from the Atlantic to the Pacific, emphatically denied that she had even been "interviewed" about the article, and blamed the "Antis" for circulating it, although a suffrage paper that the "Antis" could not get even an item in was the original publisher. We have several copies of this page article in our files.

Another "fake" was the announcement that the suffrage "justice bell" would be placed in Independence Hall when the true "Liberty Bell" goes to the San Francisco Exposition. The highest officials connected with the management of city property in Philadelphia told our officers that the Suffragists had not even made any request for such a thing, though their enterprising press agents had published the thing as an assured fact several days previously.

The Suffragists' publicity bureau in Philadelphia recently gave out a long string of organizations that were said to "indorse" woman suffrage officially and would take part in the parade on May 1st. At least two of these organizations, the Ministerial Union and the Y. M. C. A., vigorously denied that any such indorsements had been given.

LOGIC OF FACT

A LETTER from the Nashville (Tenn.) *Banner* shows "logic of fact" overbalances "theory of equal rights":

The equal suffrage results of the recent Chicago election accord with the experience of some of us who have spent the past six years visiting, teaching, and also traveling extensively, in the West—the only section where suffrage, so far, has passed. To some of us who went open to conviction as to the efficiency of suffrage in this great section we have found to our sorrow that women have quite failed to fulfill their promise to use political power to improve social and moral conditions. What he or she calls knowledge is merely a personal opinion based upon data which are almost altogether the theoretical sort. "The logic of theory is on the side of all those who ask for change; the logic of fact is with those who protest against it." Consequently, after a serious personal observation, made in the States of Arizona, California, Kansas, Colorado, etc., we find the so-called enfranchisement of women not to have, so far, helped the political coloring. In respect to this investigation, personally made, in connection with sociological research, along lines which the feminist movement grasp as a phase of social-psychology, we believe in all candor that the ballot—which in itself is not an educational force—awaits its trial. Then as a professional woman we take the right to protest against the obligation of suffrage. We urge all business and working women in general to look deeply into the matter before making up their minds with regard to the abstract desirability of equal suffrage in the South. We have no proved reasons, no tangible indorsements how it may transplant with a doubled negro vote to the black belt of the South! When it is a matter of guesswork the risk of "equal suffrage results" is, of course, seriously involved, and it would be hard to estimate the magnitude of the risk. So we have returned from our Western labor field convinced that the conservation of woman rests not with the ballot, for the possession of suffrage and the possession of freedom are too often confounded in popular thought.

The right of women to enter the trades or professions is independent of her political activities. The woman's vote has not been necessary to open the opportunities for higher education to her through a Mary Lyon! Dorothy Dix says suffrage would have hampered her work. There are scores of women, such as Octavia Hill, Ida Tarbell and others, who have rendered distinctive value to the State, who believe that political power would militate against the usefulness in the large field of public work in which they have done such helpful service. (MISS) JOSEPHINE A. PEARSON.

DISRESPECT TO MOTHERS

SOME time ago Mary Ware Dennett made the revolutionary suggestion that the father and the mother in a family should be equally responsible for the family's support and for the care of the children. The father would spend the first "shift" of the day, a five-hour period, in productive labor, after which he would replace the mother as caretaker of the children, while she "rested" from her home duties by performing income-bringing work outside the home.

This beautiful system is set forth anew in that heretofore non-humorous monthly, *The Century*.

We learn that there is a "fundamental trouble," that *sine qua non* of all professional reformers.

We discover that "the father specializes on earning, the mother on personal service, with the result that the children get very false ideas in regard to the intrinsic and relative values of human effort. They cannot help acquiring the impression that the father's position is one of superiority and advantage, despite the polite effort made by all to envelop the mother's work so thickly in sentiment that its essential dependence and narrowness will not show."

We are further soberly informed that there must be something radically wrong with the position of the average mother because the average man would feel his self-respect affronted at the mere suggestion that men devote their lives to personal family service while the mothers earn the family's livelihood.

The writer goes on to suggest that what the world needs is effeminate men and mannish women, as this would be the inevitable effect of the program she proposes.

We are told that "children cannot be expected to give really equal respect to both parents when the mother is in a position where she has to buy her Christmas present for the father with *his* money."

When we read remarks of this kind, it occurs to us to wonder where the Suffragist acquires her knowledge. Perhaps children in the families of Suffragist-Feminists do not respect their mothers equally with their fathers. If this is true, the Suffragists should find out why. It is not true in the real American home.

Mrs. Dennett's article promises us little hope for any betterment of this disrespectful condition until socialism brings to pass the "three or four-hour working day." She is certain, however, that blunders, mishaps, and even tragedies are to be our part in passing from the present with its scornful, irreverent disregard of mothers to that well-ordered future when they shall be equally revered with fathers.

THE HARBOR BAR OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Apologies to the Author

Then women would clerk and
Men would sweep,
And the good Lord knows there
Would none of us sleep,
For the babes would all be moaning.

THE HIGH COST OF SUFFRAGE

(From Portchester, N. Y., *Item*).

THE New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 37 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City, in a statement says:

In November last, 1,439,969 voters in New York State cast their ballots for the gubernatorial nominees. The total cost as far as reported, amounted to \$4,079,171.42. Township charges and many candidates' expenses are not included in this total. The amount charged to the public purse was \$2,824,492.53, or about \$2.00 per voter.

In New York State there are about as many women as men and the adoption of the pending constitutional amendment granting the vote to women would practically double the electorate. Entirely eliminating the executive positions and salaries in state and county election offices

the increased cost to the public would be about \$2,500,000.00.

In addition to the above enormous expense to the State there was spent by individuals and campaign committees nearly \$1.00 per voter to "get out the vote." This also would be practically doubled if women vote.

What do the advocates of "Votes for Women" offer in exchange for this two and a half millions of dollars which will be the annual charge on the State if women are given the vote?

Experience in double Suffrage States has shown that Woman Suffrage does not make cheaper, better or more intelligent government. It does not help law and justice or increase the efficiency of administration. It has shown no beneficial results for the State or for the men and women in the State.

THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL

THE New York *World* during the month of April undertook a poll of certain prominent citizens to ascertain the prevailing opinion on the question of extending the suffrage to women in November.

We quote the *World* of April 26th, as follows:

"The *World* sent a large number of return postal cards to a carefully compiled list. Among those represented in the list were architects, dentists, doctors, lawyers, ministers, men interested in railroad, steamship, insurance and real estate, and publishers and members of the Union League, University and Union Clubs of New York City.

"The cards asked the following questions:

"Do you think votes for women would benefit the State? Why?"

"Do you think votes for women would benefit women? Why?"

"The responses have been almost unprecedented, and according to the replies received, show unmistakably that a majority of the men of Greater New York are opposed to giving the right to vote to women.

"The figures are:

Against woman suffrage..... 566
For woman suffrage..... 434

"According to these returns, woman suffrage would be defeated by at least 82,000 votes in Greater New York, basing the estimate on the vote of 1913 for mayor, which was 624,157. According to the percentage of replies received by the *World*, the vote,

based on that of 1913 in Greater New York, would be:

Against woman suffrage..... 353,272
For woman suffrage..... 270,885
Majority against woman suffrage... 82,387

"Following the same computation, except that the vote is based on that of 1912 for President, which was 1,587,983, woman suffrage would be defeated in the entire State by 209,613 votes, the vote being:

Against woman suffrage..... 898,798
For woman suffrage..... 689,185
Majority against woman suffrage... 209,613

"The following table shows the replies received from members of each business or profession:

	For Suffrage	Against Suffrage
Architects .....	.742	.258
Dentists .....	.20	.80
Clergymen .....	.532	.458
Merchants .....	.424	.576
Lawyers .....	.458	.542
Physicians .....	.483	.517
Bankers, brokers, rail- road, steamship, in- surance, etc.....	.454	.546
Union League Club....	.321	.679
Union Club.....	.345	.655
University Club.....	.375	.625

Commenting upon this poll, the *Evening Sun* of April 28th said editorially:

"There is no doubt that honestly taken 'straw polls' have a representative value. For years the result of regular elections have been clearly forecast by them. In this

case the question is whether a straw vote, and therefore a real vote, embracing the masses of the people would have a different result."

* * * * *

"It is probable that the extension of the 'straw polls' to all sections of the city and to all its people, rich and poor, cultured and simple, might not change the ratios of pros and antis so radically as an 'anti' might desire to think it would. On the other hand, the figures as they stand can hardly be regarded as holding out much hope to the Suffragists. If in the class covered by the vote the majority is strongly hostile it seems improbable that out among the artisans and the laborers a counterbalancing support can be reckoned on. It may be said that defeat of the cause by the forces of ignorance is indicated. What matter so long as defeat is to be the result, especially so long as the more enlightened vote as well as the vote in toto is rather opposed than friendly?"

"Is there any great surprise in the forecast given by this experiment? Perhaps to the most ardent Suffragists there may be, but will people in general be astonished by it? Has there been any strong reason to think that New York City or State was ready for so great a revolution? If a similar straw vote were taken among women outside certain special groups would the outcome differ very greatly and in which direction? These are very interesting questions suggested by a very interesting trial of public sentiment."

"SOME THINGS MEN CAN DO BETTER"

(From Boston *Advertiser*, April 22.)

EVERY penny which has been expended by the Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists in the campaign for and against the woman suffrage amendment of the Constitution, which is to be placed on the ballot at the November election, has been expended in violation of the corrupt practice law of this State, according to an opinion which Atty.-Gen. Henry C. Attwill has submitted to Sec. of State Albert P. Langtry.

The reason for this is that the law now provides that—

"No person except a person acting under the authority or in behalf of a political committee having a treasurer, or a candidate for nomination or election to a public office, or person acting under his authority, shall receive money or its equivalent, or expend, disburse or promise to expend or disburse money or its equivalent, to aid or promote the success or defeat of a

political party or principle or a constitutional amendment or other question submitted to the voters in any election, * * *

It further provides that "every political committee not elected by the voters * * * shall consist of at least five persons who are voters of this Commonwealth." * * *

The Anti-Suffragists questioned last night seemed much less aware of the new complications than the Suffragists and to be more amused than concerned. Mrs. James M. Codman, president of the Anti-Suffrage Association, professed to know nothing of the "political committee" development and others had but learned of it yesterday.

"It is very satisfactory to us," said Miss Evelyn Sears of Mt. Vernon Street, Chairman of the legislative committee. "Our women members have been busy organizing branches all through the State and

canvassing for signatures, but we have left the political end entirely to the men.

"As our belief is that women should not go into politics, it is evident that we should not do political work in behalf of that belief. It seems to us perfectly proper that men should handle the finances."

"Very interesting" was the characterization of the news by Mrs. A. J. George of Brookline. "We plan," she said, "to conduct our campaign under the guidance of a men's committee, as always. Even in 1895, you may recall, it was a 'Man's Suffrage Association' that fought our battle.

"We are accustomed to work with the men, a thing our opponents forget at times, for we feel that there are some things the men can do better. I know there are features of political work that a man can do better than I. So, whatever the law on the point, it does not greatly affect us."

WORK AND THE HOME

By MRS. J. B. GILFILLAN

OUR suffrage friends say work has gone out of the home. Anti-Suffragists wonder if there is a mistake, and instead it is *women* who have gone out of the home. Every anti-suffrage woman who, from patriotic conviction, is giving time to this amendment, knows the work takes her too much from home, and the family in the home know it also. Almost in proportionate ratio to ready-made clothing, canned goods, baker's bread and cooked food coming into the home, the cost of living has "gone up." Refrigerator cars and cold storage require women to have a knowledge of dietetics and cooking unknown before they had to deal with green food ripening on the way. The health of the household depends now upon this knowledge. To Anti-Suffragists, the scientific housewife and mother seem, more and more, the demand of the day. We have no sympathy with the band of women, affiliated with suffrage, who declare servitude and injustice are expressed in the words home, husband and duty. We have no sympathy with the doctrine of trial marriage, public rearing of children and mothers who

prefer to be wage-earners; tenets of these same women. We believe the hope of our land lies in the mother-love and the father-love over the home and in the home, permeating the development and requirements of childhood and youth.

Anti-Suffragists are opposed to women in political life; opposed to women in politics. This is often interpreted to mean opposed to women in public life, which is a profound mistake. We believe in women in all the usual phases of public life, except political life. Wherever woman's influence, counsel or work is needed by the community, there you will find her, so far with little thought of political beliefs. Is there any humanitarian work where Anti-Suffragists are not found? The pedestals they are said to stand upon move them into all the demands of the community.

Instructions to voters: Consult ten of your women friends and vote as the majority decides on the question of woman suffrage.

Child Labor Law in Pennsylvania

HARRISBURG, Pa., May 4.—The Cox child labor bill passed the Senate by a vote of 44 to 6 in the exact form in which it passed the House. The bill now goes to the Governor, who is expected to approve it.

Under the terms of the measure the employment of the children under fourteen years of age at any occupation except newsboys would be prohibited; messengers employed by telegraph, telephone or messenger companies between 8 P. M. and 6 A. M. would have to be at least twenty-one years old; children between fourteen and sixteen would be obliged to spend at least eight hours a week in school and not work more than 51 hours a week, including the time spent at school. The minimum age limit for newsboys is fixed at twelve years.

The measure also enumerates various classes of dangerous employment in which children under sixteen would be barred and others from which those under eighteen years would be prohibited. Domestic servants and children employed on farms are exempted from the provisions of the bill.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(Letter from the New York Sun)

THE communication in your columns to-day signed by a man appears to me to deal with a fundamental matter in just that superficial and untruthful manner that is dangerous to those who are not well informed or careful thinkers concerning Woman Suffrage. Your correspondent says: "The Declaration of Independence, which is now the bulwark of our liberties, declares in no uncertain terms that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;" and he asks, "Who are the governed? Do only adult male citizens come within the purview of the word 'governed?' That could hardly seem possible."

The Declaration of Independence says no such thing, and if it did it would be untrue, for no government on earth derives its just powers from consulting the wishes of its entire population, including infants,

while the fact that in our free republic in its noblest days only adult male citizens were the voters shows that a practical "consent of the governed" as an effective means of making law and order real for all citizens brought the "just government" to exactly that basis. Only the adult male citizen is the recognized, legal, public servant of government, whenever needed, in peace or in war; consequently he is, under sound conditions, the only one possessed of the vote. And his vote is not his reward of merit, it is his number, as it were, in the army of service. And that service is, first of all, for the sake of securing to women freedom, peace and their full share in that underlying social basis of government which depends upon the power and the willingness of the policing element of government to do its duty.

It is a confusion of thought that makes the danger of our present situation. The

States that possess Woman Suffrage have ceased to be true units in a great, free representative republic; they are bits of a socialistic commonwealth; and with the unsupported vote of women came in the undermining theories of a democracy that means the opposite of a true conception of a republic. In our noble country the motto long was "Ladies first." The suffrage movement means "Women harnessed double" in political and public work, but both can not be. Already in this inhuman kind of team work women have fallen behind. This republic is still the one great hope of the world, and it is not possible that mistaken chivalry and ignorance as to real conditions will diminish to any appreciable extent the great majority that "adult male voters" will roll up against Woman Suffrage—falsely called "equal suffrage."

—HELEN KENDRICK JOHNSON.

"Nations Do Not Go to War by Vote"

(From an Editorial in the Albany (N. Y.) Journal)

"If women had an equal place in the government with men there would have been no war."

Is this true? Is there biological or historical reason for believing it to be true? Much less, is there any means of knowing that it would have been true?

Historically there is ample evidence that it is not true. Women have not now a part in government for the first time, nor do they now aspire to a part in government for the first time. There have been queens and empresses.

* * * * *

There is no rule that applies to men that does not apply to women. Women have always had a part in the government of the world—sometimes greater, sometimes less, but much of the time absolute and tyrannical. History reveals that a great many of the wars were brought about by women who were not queens.

Again, nothing applies to women that does not apply to men. "If the vote of the women in the nations involved could have been taken before the nations went to war there would have been no war," asserts Mr. Hubbard. The corollary is exactly as true: "If the vote of the men could have been taken the nations would not have gone to war."

As a matter of fact, neither of them is true. Both are guesswork, because no vote was taken—no such vote ever has been taken. Nations do not go to war by vote.

Good Efficiency Doctrine Then and Now

(From a Newspaper Fifty Years Ago)

Mrs. Dolly Chandler and 194 other women have sent a remonstrance to the Massachusetts Legislature against woman suffrage, believing that it would "diminish the purity, the dignity and the moral influence of women, and bring into the family circle a dangerous element of discord, without securing additional strength, efficiency or wisdom to the government of the nation," and ask to be let alone "in the condition allotted to us by nature, by custom and by religion."

Mrs. Chandler died July 30, 1869, aged 86.

"ARE WOMEN CITIZENS?"

By MRS. GEORGE P. WHITE

Chairman of the Organizing Committee,
P. A. O. W. S.

A few "Anti" rhymes inspired by the debate by the Men's League for Woman Suffrage recently of the question, "Are Women Citizens?"

(This supplements a statement sent out which quoted the Constitution on the point, Article XIV, Amendments.)

Twenty members of the men
Who wish to make the women vote
Met on Wednesday—to—ahem!
Solve a riddle quite remote.
Are the women, they debated,
Citizens, or are they not?
As the chair the question stated
Men and things grew rather hot.

"They are." "They're not," the Men's
League cried.

"I say they are," said someone;
But solemnly they soon decide
The thing is known by no one.

"Refer it to the Board," they said,
"Of nineteen men"—who never met—
And let them tell us, ere we're dead,
The status of the Suffragette.

This weighty issue for the "cause,"
Abstract and academic,
Was answered long ago by laws
That need no new polemic.

In '68 our basic law,
The U. S. Constitution's
Article Fourteen, as we say
In student institutions,
Said of persons, born or brought,
Naturalized or native,
All are citizens, and we ought
To see it's not debative.

But nineteen men, at this late date,
Ignorant of a law of sixty-eight!
And the poor old "cause,"
Which never minds laws,
Nor the record of results,
Is compelled to find
Any old kind
Of a "reason" for its cults.

VITAL REPORTS OF RECENT ANTI-SUFFRAGE WORK

CONNECTICUT

THE vote against the constitutional amendment to grant the suffrage to woman was 18 to 24. There were two reasons. First, the Democratic Party put a plank in their platform that they favored woman suffrage. The next thing was that Massachusetts and New York had decided to send the question to the people. Miss Pearson had covered the State and gotten the legislators to pledge themselves for suffrage before they came to Hartford. As a result of this, when the vote was taken, the Suffragists backlisted thirty-nine legislators. The business of the legislature was held up twice on account of this vote. Once long enough for the members to receive the twelve hundred dollars worth of letters and telegrams asking them to vote for suffrage.

The Suffragists and the Anti-Suffragists were each given an afternoon but the Suffragists took three hours additional of another day to report. The legislators took one and one-half hours to vindicate themselves on account of the attacks of the Suffragists.

Up to last October the Suffragists had spent \$30,000 in the State, for "peaceful education," and since then have spent an equal amount. The Anti-Suffragists spent \$3,700 during the year.

This Association has had two hearings, one before the House and one in the Senate. At the largest one the Anti-Suffragists had three speakers and the Suffragists ten, among whom were Mr. Mondell and Mr. Wilkes. Mr. Mondell congratulated the State on the able and dignified hearing. The Committee were much impressed by Mrs. Henry White, of Boston, who spoke for the Anti-Suffragists. The Suffragists thought they had won and were disappointed at the vote of 61 to 35 against them. The question was postponed in the House.

FLORIDA

TALLAHASSEE, April 27.—The lower House of the Florida Legislature rejected a resolution to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the voters in 1916.

GEORGIA

THE Georgia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage holds monthly meetings in Macon, Georgia, which are marked by an increase in numbers and the audiences are always attentive. These are held at our principal hotel. These meetings are considered fine from an educational standpoint. Many ladies who have attended have said, "We had our eyes opened, we did not know what woman suffrage would mean." New members are added each time. We have a new organization in one of our suburbs, and in Athens, and many members in Savannah. We are receiving requests for literature from different sections of Georgia, some from men who wish to speak against suffrage.

Recently we had a public address by Miss Mildred Rutherford, Historian General of the U. D. C's, setting forth the "Dangers of Woman Suffrage." She has been requested to repeat it in Savannah. Our present work is to have protests and membership cards signed over our State and sent to us. These protests are to be sent to the Georgia Legislature in June, when the Suffragists expect to send a petition signed by a number of persons asking for a suffrage amendment to be passed. We are sending literature to each member of the Legislature, with a personal note.

Recently we had a fine address from Mr. Eugene Anderson, President of the Georgia-Alabama Business College, the leading one of the South in reputation. This was attended by men and women.

At our March meeting we had a fine talk from our Governor-Elect, Judge N. E. Harris, in which he said, "I have taken my life in my own hands, now I have declared myself with you." He advised us to form organizations over the State and said should woman suffrage ever come, he believed "Conservative old Georgia would be the last to have it." Judge Harris is being claimed falsely to favor woman suffrage. Bishop Warren A. Candler, the great Bishop of the Southern Methodist Church, has endorsed our organization and encouraged us.

We expect to have a great "Anniversary Tea" at the Hotel Dempsey on May 22d, celebrating our first anniversary.

MISS CAROLINE PATTERSON,
President.

MARYLAND

THE annual meeting of the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was held at the office, 526 North Charles Street, March 22d.

Mrs. Robert Garrett was re-elected President.

The reports of the officers and various committees showed increased membership and an enthusiastic interest in meetings and work. More than 3000 pieces of literature were distributed to people who called at the office of the Association and quantities have been sent by mail in response to requests for assistance for debates in schools, churches and clubs.

A mass meeting was held in the evening, March 24th, at Heptosophs Hall, at which the president, Mrs. Robert Garrett, presided and made an address followed by Mrs. A. J. George, of Boston. The next morning Mrs. George spoke to a gathering of young women at the home of one of the members which will no doubt interest a group of young people into active work for the Association.

MASSACHUSETTS

AT the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Association held at the Hotel Somerset, Boston, on April 20, over 600 members were present. Reports showed that the main office had distributed during the year 162,677 pieces of literature and held during the year, exclusive of committee meetings, 266 meetings. Branches now number 123. 33 meetings were held during the month of April as well as meetings at East Boston nightly for nearly two weeks past.

Preceding the meeting luncheon was served, and at the informal reception the guests were presented by 10 ushers with Miss Marjorie Crocker as chief.

The election of officers resulted as follows:

Mrs. James M. Codman, president; Mrs. George R. Agassiz, Miss Mary S. Ames, Mrs. John Balch, Mrs. Robert S. Bradley, Miss Anna L. Dawes, Mrs. Charles E. Guild, Mrs. Francis C. Lowell, Mrs. Robert S. Russell and Mrs. Henry M. Whitney,

VITAL REPORTS OF RECENT ANTI-SUFFRAGE WORK (Continued)

vice-presidents; Mrs. James M. Codman, treasurer; Mrs. Edward Ford, recording secretary; Mrs. Charles P. Strong, corresponding secretary. The executive committee was re-elected, with the addition of Miss Julia Prendergast and Miss Ellen M. Tower.

On the night of May 1st, Socialist Day, an anti-suffrage, anti-socialism mass meeting was held at Faneuil Hall, at which Hon. John A. Sullivan presided. The speakers were Mrs. A. J. George, of Brookline; Hon. John A. Mathews, of New Jersey, and Hon. J. Mitchell Galvin, of Boston.

MINNESOTA

THE Minnesota Legislature adjourned April 22, and until their next biennial meeting, the question of universal suffrage cannot be acted upon in this State.

The Anti-Suffragists asked time for an educational campaign because the agitation on the question centered in St. Paul and Minneapolis, and was not an issue in the State at large. After a public hearing, and an earnest campaign in the Senate, that body defeated the woman suffrage amendment on March 4 by one vote. The local option issue had been made a definite feature, and our majority was less in votes than it was in fact.

We supposed the question was closed for the season of 1914-15. Immediately the suffrage workers began an insistent campaign for expression of opinion by the Lower House. Assured, the Senate would not repudiate itself, we knew this effort was wholly for campaign purposes, and felt that having the members committed would be detrimental to our educational work.

For seven weeks we tried to keep the question from being presented. In that time two bills were presented in the Senate. One again introducing the constitutional amendment and the other for franchise on Presidential Electors under the Statutory Law. They were never reported out from the Elections Committee.

The same bills were introduced into the House. The Committee on Elections agreed to present only one bill and the suffrage members chose the bill under Statutory Law. The Committee voted 15 to 6 against the bill. A minority report was sent in, and the House voted to accept it.

For the remaining three weeks we worked against the advancement of the bill. Once a vote was taken to place it upon General Orders, but failed of the required two-thirds. Again it was included in a group of Special Order bills introduced by a Socialist member. The "ayes" had voted, when an enthusiastic friend of our cause asked a re-reading of the numbers, called "suffrage" and the bill was excluded.

In these weeks, we have done all we could for the laws relating to women and children, endorsed by our Association. Among these was the law creating State reformatory for women.

A certain confusion had grown up around the form of the law, which seemed impossible to surmount. At the request of some of the members, our women took it up, and we are grateful to report, on the last night of the session, it was passed by both Houses.

Woman's suffrage has failed to make advance at any point in the 1914-15 Legislature, and the Anti-Suffrage Association has been of definite assistance to Humanitarian Legislation.

The members of the Legislature opposed to universal suffrage have worked for us with untiring loyalty and patience.

Our women have stood together without a shadow of disagreement, working in season and out of season, with consecration and judgment, for this cause they believe so vital to our Republic.

MRS. JOHN B. GILFILLAN,
President.

NEBRASKA

IN connection with the regular work of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, a Safety League has been organized, the chief aim of which is "to teach the public at large to think of *Safety* as the first consideration." Buttons are being distributed to every child in the public schools of Omaha and vicinity. Cards on public safety have been placed in street cars and distributed in hundreds of stores, public buildings and given out from the office.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN anticipation of the annual meeting of the State Federation of Clubs of New Hampshire, the following resolutions were passed by the large Club in Concord.

Whereas; the avowed purpose of the Women's Clubs is not controversial, but social and philanthropic (the object of the Concord Woman's Club being to become a "social centre for united thought and action)" and

Whereas; the discussion of strongly partisan questions, whether religious, political, or social, is universally conceded to tend towards dissension and against unity, and

Whereas; the efficiency and success of the work of the Women's Church Clubs is dependent upon the united public work of the members without regard to their private opinions,

Therefore be it resolved that the Concord Woman's Club will not endorse either side of any partisan question, and requests its delegates to the State Federation to govern themselves in accordance with the spirit of this resolution, and oppose the introduction of any controversial questions into the deliberations of the Federation.

NEW JERSEY

THE New Jersey Association has welcomed Anti-Suffragists from the four campaign States, and many others, during the last month at its annex on the boardwalk in Atlantic City.

At the luncheon given in Trenton on May 3d officers and members from the various associations to the number of 300 heard the encouraging reports of new auxiliaries being formed, hundreds of signatures secured weekly and much enthusiasm in all parts of the State for the anti-suffrage cause.

A definite outline of State-wide action has been outlined, which will be carried on between now and October 19th.

Present indications from every county of the State where careful canvasses have been conducted prove the sentiments of the majority of the women of New Jersey are opposed to woman suffrage.

Two and three meetings a day are the order—and calls for speakers come from civic organizations, church clubs and political committees—sometimes for debates, often for a hearing of the anti-suffrage side after a suffrage speaker has been heard.

NEW YORK

THE Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists in New York are united on one point. They want a woman suffrage constitutional amendment presented to the voters at the polls November 2, 1915.

Neither side need fear that the Constitutional Convention now in session at Albany, will take any action which will prevent such a measure from being fairly placed before the voters on that date.

It is interesting at this time, when one of the members of the Constitutional Convention has introduced a resolution urging the convention not to take any action on the woman suffrage question, to glance back to last summer when the Constitutional Convention first became an assured fact.

As far back as July the Suffragists were busy calling on all the leaders of the two big parties, and urging them to incorporate in their respective state platforms, a plank, pledging the delegates to the Constitutional Convention to favor submitting a woman suffrage amendment as part of the new Constitution.

In August, when the Republicans met at Saratoga, I appeared before Senator Root's Constitutional Convention Platform Committee, and on behalf of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage submitted the following proposition:

"The woman suffrage amendment has already passed one Legislature and in the natural order of events would be introduced again into the Legislature of 1915, and if passed by that body, be submitted to the voters the following autumn. Why should not the Legislature finish the work it has begun? If this course is followed a constitutional amendment extending suffrage to women will be before the people in November, 1915, as a separate and distinct proposition on which the voters may cast an intelligent vote "yes" or "no" uninvolved with any other question.

The Anti-Suffragists declared two years ago that they were prepared and ready to meet the question in November, 1915, in this way and have not retracted from that position.

The Constitutional Convention, however, puts a different aspect on the whole situation. If the members were pledged in advance to submit a woman suffrage amendment it might be presented to the voters as part of the new Constitution, to be rejected or accepted by them as a whole. It would then be incumbent upon all those who honestly believe that woman suffrage is retrogressive rather than progressive, to

vote against the adoption of a new Constitution because of that one amendment, and a splendidly progressive document calculated in all other respects to meet the needs of the time would probably be defeated for this one cause alone.

We felt we could not lay too much emphasis on the point that in all fairness such a radical constitutional change should be presented as a separate proposition to the voters and were delighted when these words, "submitting the question to the voters of the state as an independent proposition" were written in the Republican platform.

The *Troy Times* commented on this point editorially on August 20th as follows:

"The Republicans at Saratoga took a look ahead when they declared that woman suffrage if incorporated in the Constitution should be separated so that it would be voted upon as a distinct proposition. It might happen that some who were opposed to woman suffrage would vote for it in order to save the entire Constitution. The Republican suggestion is wise and reasonable. So important a change as the advocates of woman suffrage suggest should be left to be determined as a separate proposition and not be either helped or hindered by being entangled with other measures."

It is true that a legal tangle has been presented to the Convention owing to the fact that an amendment proposed by Constitutional Convention supersedes a similar legislative amendment presented at the same time. Therefore if the woman suffrage amendment as passed by the Legislature goes to the voters and is carried, and at the same time, the revised Constitution with the former clause relating to male suffrage is ratified, there will be a direct conflict of Constitutional provisions.

The leaders of the Constitutional Convention are men who are accustomed to considering knotty constitutional problems, and both Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists can leave the matter in their hands in full confidence that they will be perfectly fair and live up to the agreement in the Republican platform, this being a Republican Convention, to submit a woman suffrage amendment to the voters as a separate proposition.

On May 1st there were just 185 days before the election in New York State on November 2d. This is altogether too short a time for us to reach every voter in New York State with our arguments against Woman Suffrage unless every member of the Association will do her share of work. If women cannot speak they can at least distribute literature con-

taining the arguments given from the platform. We have a large variety of leaflets and dodgers which are suitable for mailing and every member of the Association should keep a supply of these on hand and send them in every letter she writes or with every bill she pays. Those who have automobiles should make it a point of distributing literature all around the region where they spend the summer months. We expect every member of the Association to arrange for a meeting in the neighborhood where she spends the summer. If an application is made to the office and three weeks' notice given we shall be glad to send a speaker to any place in the state.

The Anti-Suffragist shrinks from the platform, yet despite this fact there were between 50 and 60 meetings in the State during the month of April. No organization of any kind gives a hearing nowadays to Suffragists without, at the same time, arranging to hear the anti-suffrage arguments, so our speakers have been asked to appear before Granges, Labor Organizations, Rotary Clubs, Elks Clubs, Masonic Organizations, Political Clubs, Church Conferences, Civic Bodies, Social Clubs and Women's Clubs. Perhaps the most successful meetings have been those held at the political clubs, for the voters are very much in earnest on this question now and are seriously considering the arguments. Every thoughtful man in the country to-day realizes that the Anti-Suffragists are not a mere handful of women who are standing up and proclaiming they do not want the vote, but recognizes the fact that the anti-suffrage movement is widespread all over the country and that the opposition to this revolutionary governmental change is based upon definite principles which may not be lightly brushed aside because some women do want the vote.

We are glad to announce the formation of a new Committee at Plattsburgh, N. Y., and also one in the neighboring town of Champlain. They have started in a vigorous campaign and are receiving hearty support in Clinton County.

The Plattsburgh Officers are:

President—Miss Erminia M. Whitley.

First Vice-President—Miss Helen I. Smith.

Second Vice-President—Mrs. E. E. Larkin.

Third Vice-President—Mrs. George S. Weed.

Secretary—Mrs. Frank Hagar.

Treasurer—Mrs. W. M. Foote.

Advisory Board—Mrs. W. W. Chappel, Mrs. Wm. Levy, Mrs. C. H. Chasman.

At Hudson an auxiliary has been formed for definite campaign work, and at the organization meeting, April 29th, elected the following officers:

President—Mrs. John W. Gillette.

Vice-President—Mrs. Arthur Gifford.

Recording Secretary—Miss Eloise Van Deusen.

Corresponding Secretary—Mrs. Charles Esselstyn.

Plans for a series of meetings in this county were discussed and details outlined and arranged. The meeting was largely attended and much enthusiasm was shown.

Alice Hill Chittenden, President.

NORTH DAKOTA

THE Legislature of North Dakota of 1913 passed two suffrage measures—one, the measure permitting a vote at the 1914 election, which was defeated by the voters. The second measure was the first passage of a Constitutional Amendment granting equal suffrage to women.

The decisive defeat of woman suffrage at the polls in November did not lessen the activities of the Suffragists, and they were confident of inducing the Legislature of 1915 to pass again the Constitutional Amendment, above referred to, which would bring the matter to a vote again at the election of 1915.

In preparation for the Legislature, the North Dakota Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage prepared and circulated quite generally a leaflet entitled, "A Statement," giving figures, and conclusively showing that the people of the State had spoken decisively in this matter. Just prior to the opening of the Legislature, copies were sent to all members of the House and Senate.

When the Senate organized, a committee on suffrage was appointed. The House made no such provision.

The State of North Dakota has a corrupt practice law, which forbids the organizing and maintaining of any lobby. Under its provisions there are just three methods of urging special legislation. The first is the sending of printed information to each member, which was the method employed by us, as already mentioned. The second is the making of public addresses, which in this case we deemed not advisable. The third was the appearance before the proper committee, and the presentation there of arguments.

The Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage obeyed this Corrupt Practice Law strictly. The Votes for Women League and the W. C. T. U., on the contrary, absolutely disregarded it, and maintained throughout the session active lobbies, relying upon their "special privileges as women."

We were kept posted as to their movements, but without any notice or invitation to us to appear, the Senate Committee on Suffrage held a meeting and gave a hearing to the Suffragists: our organization was not represented in any way. The chairman of this committee was an avowed Suffragist; and the other members were either undecided or anti. At this meeting no decision was taken as to the nature of their report, but newspaper statements came out to the effect that they wanted a hearing from the Anti-Suffragists before making a report. I conferred with several of the members and signified our entire willingness to appear before them. It seemed to be their wish that we should do so, but the chairman failed to call any meeting. Within a few days the bill was sent back to the Senate from the Committee with no recommendation. This was somewhat surprising, but we learned afterwards that the chairman had never called the committee together again. The most astonishing thing happened later. The Senate, contrary to the expectations of every one, passed the Suffrage Amendment by a good majority. This, of course, would throw the matter into the House. The House was concededly favorable to suffrage.

As soon as we learned of the action we prepared a protest which was given to the press and printed generally, and was sent to the Senate and read there, and as it seemed at that time almost inevitable, on account of the attitude of the House, that the bill would pass, we set about the organization of a Men's Auxiliary to our Association, knowing that it would require men to deal with this condition. We prepared blanks for signature, sent them out all over the State, and secured a good many signatures. This action doubtless helped toward the happy outcome. I telegraphed the Speaker of the House, as there was no Committee on Suffrage, asking for a hearing before the vote should be taken on the matter. He referred the matter to the Committee on Elections and Election Privileges and the chairman of that committee notified me that the Suffragists and myself would have a hearing on a certain night. I went to Bismarck to be in readiness for this, but when I arrived there I found that the Senate had already realized their serious mistake—they had heard from their constituents in many cases—and were anxious to rescind their action. The following day they recalled the bill from the House and put it on the table, and kept it there throughout the session, so that the House never had an opportunity to take any action upon it.

This was the beginning of a protracted and very warm parliamentary battle, which was daily renewed. The Suffragists claimed this action was not "fair play," therefore the Anti-Suffrage Senators were

entirely willing to bring the matter to a vote again, and offered to take the bill from the table and reconsider it, but the suffrage Senators realized that they were in a minority and refused to do this, and it was impossible therefore to secure the necessary two-thirds vote.

As a result, the Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution has failed.

The North Dakota Association has also throughout the winter conducted quite an educational campaign, in that there has been a series of debates upon suffrage held throughout the State in the high schools and rural clubs. We have furnished literature for the speakers on the Anti side, and have kept our travelling libraries busy all the time.

Mrs. N. C. Young,
President.

OHIO

THE Anti-Suffragists are not idle in this State nor has the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage disbanded and the women "gone back to their individual interests."

Just at present the members are particularly active. To counteract the impression given by a suffrage card—which states that the women of Ohio want to vote—the Anti-Suffragists are having a canvass taken and are getting large numbers of signatures, which prove that the majority against Woman Suffrage is strong throughout the state. Five thousand signatures were secured in the first three days.

PENNSYLVANIA

MISS FLORENCE HALL, Chairman of the Public Interest Committee of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and members of her Committee counted and checked the marchers in the suffrage parade in Philadelphia, May 1st: Total in parade, 3468; divided as follows: Number of women, 2743; number of cars, 194; number of men, 603; number of children, 122; number afoot, 2324; number riding, 29 horseback, 1115 in cars.

Several announcements prior to the parade promised at least 40,000 marchers.

WISCONSIN

A BILL was introduced by Mr. Bradley in the Assembly of the legislature to extend the right of suffrage to women.

A substitute amendment, taking away the right of dower in granting the right of suffrage to women, was offered by Mr. Budlong. The bill was voted down.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The date for the special election in New Jersey on the Woman Suffrage Amendment has been definitely decided for October 19. The Governor was obliged to call the legislature together to vote again on the date, as there was some doubt as to the constitutionality of the wording of the first bill.

The story comes from St. Louis of a school boy debate which ended in a victory for militancy but not for suffrage.

The boys debated long and hard, but after the battle was over "resolved" as follows: "Resolved, that we approve of the methods of the militant Suffragettes but that we hate their cause."

The Suffragists who had a booth at the Fair in Bryn Mawr recently have announced that 50 per cent. of their income from the booth would go to the hospital there.

The Anti-Suffragists also had a booth, and they have given 100 per cent. of the entire proceeds to the hospital fund.

Writing from Germany under date of March 14, 1915, Mrs. Lillian Bayard Taylor Kiliani says:

"The women are doing a noble, womanly work in a womanly way, and perhaps the war may serve to show many of them how much more important it is than to try to do the man's work. In times like this the men on the battle-field and the women at home are proving best, how each should do his and her appointed share of the world's work."

Mayor Mitchel of New York City said in a recent article in the *Evening Sun* that he should vote for the woman suffrage amendment because the majority of women in New York State wanted it.

That is a remarkable statement, considering that the Suffragists themselves claim only 10 per cent as belonging to their organizations.

Governor Whitman of New York states that he will vote for the suffrage amendment. Governor Fielder of New Jersey states that he will vote against it. The Governors of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts still to be heard from.

A chauffeur was driving a speaker home after a meeting in Massachusetts. He vouchsafed this comment on the meeting: "You are all right! my wife agrees with you. I asked her, just before I came out, what she thought about this Suffragette

business, and she said, 'I am satisfied to boss the house, you can do your part in running the town.'"

The Rev. Mr. Lord, pastor of the Unitarian Church in Dover, Mass., announced in a public meeting held in Boston on May 6th, that all Anti-Suffragists were "drawn from three sources, liquor interests, white slavers and the wealthy women." As more than one-half of the women of voting age in Dover, Mass., are enrolled as members of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and as Dover is a small community with only a few residents of large wealth, it would seem that the Rev. Lord's present task would be to remain at home and dissuade the members of his parish from their evil ways, rather than to announce what he must feel is a community shame before the people of other towns.

At a meeting in Pennsylvania where Miss Lucy Price spoke last month she was accused by a Suffragist of having formerly been a Suffragist herself. Miss Price replied that she had heard the accusation so often she had come to the conclusion either that the Suffragists were proud of her having been one of them or that it was the worst thing they could say of her.

The female suffrage orator stood upon her platform and looked over the sea of faces. "Where would man be to-day were it not for woman?" she inquired. She paused a moment. "Again I repeat," she said, "where would man be to-day were it not for woman?" "In the Garden of Eden," answered a male voice from the rear.

Several women in Illinois have been arrested for buying women's votes at prices ranging from \$3 to \$12. This does not prove that women are worse than men, only that women in politics are open to the same temptations and yield to them. *The New York Sun* says: "The fact that women can get \$12 each for their votes in neighborhoods where men's votes fetch only \$2 seems to prove that women know how to use the ballot."

Up-to-date Suffragists scorn and decry the power of woman's indirect influence upon legislation. But twenty years ago Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in her Introduction to the "Woman's Bible," wrote:

"Women have compelled their legislators in every State in this Union to so modify their statutes for women that the old common law is now almost a dead letter."

Since the repudiation of this much ridiculed tidbit of sacred literature by the National Suffrage Convention of 1896, Suffragists have been endeavoring to forget its existence. Possibly the above quotation may be a slight factor in their loss of memory.

In a Massachusetts town, at the close of a meeting, Mrs. George asked for questions and got this poser: "If a woman has the courage to demand that the word obey be stricken from the marriage service, isn't she intelligent enough to vote?" The questioner was a spinster of some seventy summers.

William Hale Thompson, Mayor-elect of Chicago, says that many of his appointees to city offices would be women.

"When I say women," he said, "I mean mothers. There is a big difference between being just a woman and a mother. Single women and women without children are too apt to have radical ideas. Mothers have common sense. There are several women in the Chicago school board now, and I shall increase the number. And my appointees will be mothers every time."

New York has had women on the Board of Education for the past twelve years. Massachusetts has had them for more than forty years.

(From Anti-Suffrage Notes in Brookline (Mass.) *Chronicle*)

"Isn't it time the Suffragists made an official declaration as to how they stand on Socialism and temperance? Their speakers are being quoted in so many different ways that it is confusing, to say the least. A careful study of newspaper clippings from all over the country seems to show that the organization policy depends chiefly on the complexion of the audience addressed.

"Miss Margaret Foley in New Bedford, standing on a soap box, advises the English mill operatives that they need have no fear—votes for women will not deprive them of their liquor.

"Frau Rosika Schwimmer, in a saloon at Columbus, Ohio, campaigning for votes for women, sounds an equally cheering note for her immediate hearers. Yet in more polite gatherings, the women dwell on what great gains can be made if they only secure the vote.

"Concerning Socialism it is the same. Miss Foley attacks it, and then other members, equally prominent, make certain at each parade that the Socialists with their banners have the right of the line. Won't someone in authority please speak up and define the official position of the suffrage organization?"

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1893

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

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